

T O M D O U B L E

Return'd out of the Country : Or, the True
Picture of a *Mordern Whig*, &c.

Whiglove and Double.

Do. **M**R. *Whiglove*, I hope you have not been long alone.

Wh. No, Sir, I came but a quarter of an hour before you.

Do. Have you look'd into the Kitchen?

Wh. Yes, and find there are Preparations for a noble Supper.

Do. *Harry Killigrew* bespoke it, and I gave him full Power to do what he pleas'd. I never eat with true Satisfaction but when the Entertainment is of his ordering, he has a most voluptuous Fancy. If ever I reach the Estate I have propos'd to my Self, which is about a hundred, or a hundred and fifty thousand Pound, I am positively resolv'd to give him five hundred a Year only to inspect my Table; he has prodigious Talents that way, and might have been Caterer to *Lucullus*. But I saw him this Morning horribly vext and out of Humour.

Wh. How so?

Do. It seems he intended a *Soupe d'Ecrivisse*, and had borrow'd my French Cook, who does it to a Miracle; but when all came to all, there was not a Crawfish to be had in Town. I did but hint that Lobsters might do as well, and I thought he would have drawn upon me.

Wh. How was he pacified?

Do. I told him of an *Indian* House where he might have six Bird's Nests that came by the last Ship, which would be the greater Dainty. At the mention of this his drooping Spirits began to revive; but he said, with a deep Sigh, I am sorry to see the Government so negligent as to suffer this Town to be without Crawfish.

Wh. I hope you sent him away smiling.

Do. Yes, yes, and he will be happy at least all this Day, for I gave him out of my Pocket eighteen Guineas to pay for the Birds Nests, and twelve Guineas to fetch down two dozen Bottles of *Tockay* Wine from a *Hamborough* Merchant's of my Acquaintance.

Wh. If two Articles stand you in thirty Guineas, for God's sake what will your whole Supper come to?

Do. We shall be twelve of us, and I believe 'twill cost me about fourscore Pound.

Wh. Methinks that's a great deal for one Treat?

Do. 'Tis so; but we, whose Expences and Riots are supply'd out of the Pockets of the whole People of *England*, must not value so trifling a Sum as that is: Besides, 'tis for the Reputation of our Party that such a little Fellow as I was thirteen Years ago, should be able and willing to spend fourscore Pound upon a single Entertainment.

Wh. But will not these Excesses and Vanities give Offence to some of our Godly Friends in the City?

Do. Not in the least; for ever since they began to smell at a Court, which was towards the middle of a late King's Reign, they have laid aside all their former Sobriety and Gravity of Manners, and are become as expensive and vicious as we are, who never so much as made any Professions of Godliness.

Wh. When I heard *Brown* give Directions below, that the young Chickens, squab Pigeons, and wild Fowl, should be all pil'd up in Pyramids, I thought you had invited no less than fifty Persons.

Do. No, we are to be but twelve. And you see I have

have sent hither my own *Bufet*, my own Plate and Linen, for I cannot bear with the Nastiness of an Eating-house, and had entertain'd you at home, but that our Noble Friends take a particular pleasure, and think it for their Intrest to show themselves often among their Followers in the City. You are to have four Courses, and the Table-Linen chang'd at every Course. As for your Meat, you have seen it your self; and for Liquor, I have brought my own *Champagne*, and perhaps 'tis the best you ever tasted. So that we will be as merry as good Wine and *Harry Killigrew's* Flights can make us.

Wh. Who are to be your Company?

Do. Our three noble Friends, some of our City Gang, and two young Gentlemen of Quality and great Estates, with whom I got acquainted in the North; they are at present extreamly averse to our Party, and one of our principal Businesses to Night will be to try if we can corrupt them, and bring 'em over to our Side. They came to Town but last Night, and you see how diligent we are, that I have seiz'd upon 'em already. But let me tell you, Mr. *Whiglove*, I chiefly make this Supper upon your Account, intending to take this Opportunity of introducing you to our noble Friends.

Wh. Mr. *Double*, I am very much oblig'd to you for this great Favour, and the Honour you design me.

Do. Indeed I have told their Honours very roundly, that you have been too long neglected. I have laid before 'em the Services you have done in your Circuits round the Kingdom. I talk to 'em in this manner. *You are not to muzzle the Ox that treadeth out the Corn.* Honest Mr. *Whiglove* is not to spend his own Estate to serve you: You reap the Benefit of the Lyes, false News, Aspersions and Libels, which he disperses every where, his Labours help to uphold you in your Greatness, he has vilified the last Parliament, and contributed very much to Poyson the People, and

and to make 'em out of Love with their Constitution, he has endeavour'd to excuse all your illegal Proceedings; he has been your Advocate when you were upbraided in every Market Town for having rob'd the King and Kingdom to enrich your selves; in short, he has almost bawl'd and rail'd himself into a Consumption on your behalf, and yet you give him no Countenance, when you have preferr'd Forty worthless Fellows, because they Flatter'd you to your Faces, tho' they rail'd at you behind your Backs. I likewise inform'd 'em how that to my certain Knowledge four Gentlemen of the other Side had lately lost their Elections, meerly by the false Stories you had rais'd about 'em in the Country: Upon the whole Matter I so recommended your Merits to their Honours, that I dare venture to say I have laid the Foundation of your Fortune, and so you shall see to Night how kindly you will be receiv'd. For my Part, I am so confident in what I say, that give me five Guineas, and I will give you Fifty, if within six Months you are not either in the Excise or Customs.

Wh. Well Sir, take five Guineas, and I wish this may prove Lucky both to your self and me. But pray remember to tell 'em that 'twas I who trump'd up the two false Affidavits in *Kent*. 'Tis true, one of 'em had not its Effect at *Maidstone*, but the other did Coll. *Gage's* Business at *Rochester*; the Witnesses were of my Suborning, and I hope you do not imagine such Intrigues are to be manag'd without Expence.

D. No, no, I know well enough, by Experience, that People will not forswear themselves for nothing: And I believe you are considerably out of Pocket in the Affairs you have been carrying on in the Country; you have Sow'd largely, and now is the time to expect your Harvest: Nor will I forget to give 'em these particular Instances of your Zeal and Industry in promoting the Common Cause.

Wh. When do you expect your Company?

D.

Do. A little past Eight, and 'tis now about Five. I desir'd you to be here sooner than the rest, because I had a Mind to Talk with you, for I think we have not been alon together since our last meeting at *Garraway's* in the Summer, two or three Days before you went into *Kent* and *Sussex*.

Wh. Strange things have happen'd since that Time.

Do. Indeed Measures have been taken beyond either our Expectations or our Hopes. And I must own to you my Friend, when you and I parted, tho' I endeavour'd to set a good Face upon the Matter, yet my Heart was a little sunk. Indeed there was such a Tendency towards Moderation in the Country Party, that I saw plainly enough we might escape with Impunity, notwithstanding all our Rapines and Depredations in the King's Revenue and Treasure, and the irreparable Mischiefs our weak and corrupt Conduct had brought upon the Kingdom in the ten Years time we Whigs had the Administration of Affairs. For you know the other Side is not Implacable nor Revengeful, they were inclin'd to let us go off with the Booty we had gotten, rather than to embroil the Realm, by engaging with a mighty Band of Publick Robbers, all bent and resolv'd to defend one another.

Wh. But I suppose you, nor the Heads and Leaders of our Party, were not contented with bare Impunity.

Do. No, no, we had far a better Game to play than at once to forego Power, Dominion, and all the great Employments of the State, and the hopes of fleecing *England*, as we had heretofore done. 'Tis true, there was here and there a Hen-hearted Fellow among us, that thought himself happy to get away unpunish'd, but the rest were govern'd by a brisker Spirit; the Majority of us were like a Crew of brave and bold Pyrates, who having gotten a large Booty, were indeed for securing it in some strong Harbour, but at the same time we desir'd to launch out to Sea again, in order to seek new Plunder.

Wh.

Do.

Wh. This was the most Couragious, and I hope will prove the wisest Course.

Do. I despise a sneaking Genius, that is satisfy'd with moderate Wealth and Honours. Suppose a Gentleman from Eight hundred Pound a Year, comes to have at least Five hundred thousand Pound in his Pocket, and to be made an Earl, Is he to sit quiet? No, let him endeavour to get a Million, and to be a Duke. If a Lawyer from Three hundred a Year in Estate and Practice both together, comes to have a good Six thousand Pound a Year, and to be a Lord, Is he to rest there? No, let him think of doubling that Estate, and to be made an Earl. If another with with fifty Pound Annuity, and whose young Ambition look'd no higher than Tythe-Pigs, and a small Parsonage, attains to a Barony, to the most profitable Employment in the State, and to be worth Four-score thousand Pound in Money, Is he to bound his Hopes there? No, let him aspire to be a Marquis, to have a blue Ribbon, and to be Lord High Treasurer. As to the Employment he has, he may assign it over to his Brother in trust for him; and if they raked up such prodigious Fortunes in seven or eight Years, what may not be done if they get again into the same Power, and live any time?

Wh. But will they not now have watchful Eyes upon 'em?

Do. Prithee who should overlook 'em, if we can get the Majority. At the worst perhaps they will be sometimes flirtd at, but give me far Sorrow; and I think him a great Fool that cannot stand a reflecting Speech, while he is getting Twenty thousand Pound a Year. But, God be thank'd, *England* is so much chang'd, that now the People love a Man the better, the more he Robs 'em. And do you not see that we have turn'd all the Anger of the Rabble against the very Persons who desir'd to save the Nation's Mony.

Wh.

Wh. Indeed Vice prospers as well as our Hearts can wish. The Accuser is in more Danger than the Criminal. Virtue sneaks up and down unregarded, or rather despis'd, and Wealth sanctifies any Roguery whatsoever.

Do. I always took it for a good Omen to see Things brought to that pass. And let me tell you 'twas the general Corruption of Manners which I observ'd, that encourag'd me to advise our Friends, not to withdraw, but to make a bold Push to recover the Ground they had lately lost.

Wh. You did it discreetly.

Do. Some of 'em were so Simple as to cry, we have got enough, let us stop here, we may Burn our Fingers; besides the Publick is so much in Debt, and its Wants will be such, that no great Matter can be got. I told 'em flatly they did not understand *England*, when they talk'd in this Manner, that our Wealth was inexhaustible, that the depth of our Folly was never to be fathom'd, and that if they pleas'd they might cheat us to the end of the Chapter. Gentlemen, says I, do but reflect what a delicious Morsel you will have in the Spoil of a whole People, deliver'd over by a corrupt Ministry, to be ransack'd at Pleasure. What if the Nation be in Debt, 'tis not so poor yet, that we cannot squeeze out of it four or five millions every year, and do you but procure swinging Taxes, and let me alone to Chalk out a Way, by which our Party may put a large Porportion of the Mony in to their own Pockets.

Wh. This was home and well urg'd.

Do. By these and some other Arguments of the like Nature, I perswaded our Friends to make a stand, and to erect their Countenances, which were fallen ever since his Majesty clos'd the Sessions with such a Gracious Speech. I advis'd 'em to go down into the Country, and to spread about every where, that the Parliament would certainly be dissolv'd, and I wrote

the same Thing to all with whom I Corresponded.

Wh. Your Letters to me four Months ago were so positive that I took it for a Matter absolutely determin'd.

Do. And yet I knew no more of it at that time than I know who will be Duke of *Venice* a hundred Years hence. Nay, between you and me, I my self believ'd quite the contrary; But not long after, as you shall hear by and by, I was let into the Secret. However, it was necessary to affirm this confidently, because it made the Underlings of our Party the bolder in railing against the House of Commons, which perhaps they durst not have done if they had believed it would sit again; besides, this Report kept our Friends awake, and made 'em secure an early Interest in several Borroughs and Counties in case of a real Dissolution.

Wh. You need say no more to make me applaud this part of your Conduct.

Do. When this Affair was put into good Order, we thought it seasonable to tast the People by some scurrilous Libels. Out came Legion; of which there were dispers'd upwards of thirty thousand. Your humble Servant *Tom Double* was Author of *The History of the Kentish Petition*. And if you reckon the Goodness of a Book, *Jacob Tonson's* way, by the sale of it, I am no bad Writer, for of my Pamphlet there were printed near ten thousand. Soon after we publish'd the Vindication of the Earl of *Rochester*, and I am inform'd two of our noble Friends clubb'd their Wits in that Libel.

Wh. I had the Parcel you sent me, and dispers'd 'm; but I was told all the Facts, as they are set forth in that Paper, are false.

Do. Friend *Whiglove*, there is as much Truth in the Alcaron as in any of the Papers we publish; I grant they are all rank Falshoods from top to bottom. But we Modern Whigs are for Lying, tho' the Lye will last but three Hours; 'tis the Cordial that has re-viv'd

viv'd us in many a desperate Sickness; for my own part, I am so us'd to it, that I hardly know when I speak true or false. And say what you will, a weak and corrupt Administration, such as ours has been ever since we were in Power, is not to be carry'd on without it. Besides, no private Men can be so industrious to vindicate themselves, as we are to asperse them, 'tis utterly impossible. A Lye shall reach to forty thousand Persons, of which not the twentieth part come in a long time to be put right, it then has its Effect upon all the rest. No, no, a seasonable Lye is of great Importance to those who have a foul Game to play. And to prove what I say by an undeniable Instance, the Gentlemen of the last House of Commons, many of which we have so fastly aspers'd in our Libels, will undoubtedly in a short time clear their Reputations to the whole World, the People will come to be disabus'd, and our vilanous Malice will be made apparent. But in the mean while have not our Lyes made several of 'em lose their Elections? I beg you would observe what good Success Mr. Cockbrain and Mr. Slander have had in Gloucestershire. Truly I did not think they could have prevail'd to get Mr. Hew out, but I find our noble Friends were in the right to bear the Charges of that Expedition, and by dint of downright Lying you see what we have done there.

Wh. By what I can hear, never any thing was better manag'd.

Do. Our Party took care to send thither five Portmanteaus stuf't full of Libels, every Freeholder in the County had one of each sort sent to his Houfe; they were chiefly distributed by the Presbyterian Parsons, they were dispers'd in every Market-Town on the Market-Day; and so careful we were, that where the People could not read, we had Men posted to read the Libels to 'em. Our Lyes, of his having taken French Money, and spoken disrespectful Words of

the King pass'd for current, and by these Engines we batter'd down an Interest that truly I thought was never to be shaken.

Wh. Yet I am told most of the Gentry and substantial Freeholders were for him.

Do. That's true, for they saw into all our base Practices, and he had 1575 for him, of which 1400 were single Voices.

Wh. Why, that's as many as he had when he was first Elected; for as I remember, when he was first chosen Knight of the Shire he had but 1400, and at his last Election 1700.

Do. 'Tis true, but this time we muster'd People from every part of the Kingdom, and we had Persons at *Blackwell-Hall*, who all along while the Matter depended, told the Clothiers as they came up, *England*, and particularly the Woollen Manufacture, would be ruin'd if Mr. *How* was chosen.

Wh. This and some other Transactions of yours makes me despise that want of Diligence which I have observ'd in the Church Party: When are they seen to play a Trick of this Nature? They think to support themselves by Truth and Honesty, as if that would do, when we have so corrupted all Ranks and Degrees of the People.

Do. I could instance to you above threescore Gentlemen more who have been supplanted in their Burroughs and Counties meerly by the false Whispers and abominable Lyes that have been suggested by the Tools and Emissaries we have had in every part of *England* this whole Summer. First, we instructed 'em to say that all the Country Party in general were Brib'd by the *French* King; but then besides, we had a distinct Story for every particular Person. Such a one utter'd disrespectful Words of His Majesty in the House of Commons. Another has the Prince of *Wales's* Picture hung up in his Closet. Such a one spoke against the Bill of Succession. Another corre-

sponds

sponds with the Queen in *France*. He who stands a your Corporation, is a rank *Jacobite*, his Partner was in the *La Hogue* Business. He who sets up for your County is intirely in the *French* Interest. Thus they had something to say against every one. And I defy you to Name any eminent Man of the other Side who has miss'd his Election, but I can show you the very Point upon which we blasted his Reputation.

Wh. But had your Agents no Grounds for what they said?

Do. No more than I have to accuse you for designing to Poyson the *Cham* of *Tartary*. But our Heads and Leaders here in Town reckon up whatever they thought would be obnoxious to the People, then they order'd our Emisaries, to charge those Crimes upon all such Members as they intended to oppose. There was a certain Presbyterian Parson that you recommended to me did excellent Service.

Wh. Who do you mean, *Caleb Casehardened*'d?

Do. The same: That Fellow is worth his weight in Gold. You cannot imagin what a Ferment he has rais'd among the Dissenters. He has rid Post thro' all the Kingdom, and frighted those of the Separation out of their Wits, by telling them the last Parliament design'd to deprive them of their Liberty of Conscience. I thought I could lie impudently enough, but he out-does me ten Bars length. There are very few who have contributed more to influence Elections than your Friend *Caleb*. He has brought a great many of the Godly to be of our side, who were alienated from us, and began to be reconcil'd to the Candor and Moderation of the Church party. Upon my word I take his Merits to be so eminent, that I think something considerable ought to be done for him. If you can perswade him to swallow the Oaths, and conform, I here promise to do my utmost with the Great Ones of our Party to get him made a B——p.

Wh. There is no doubt of his complying: But are there not some Objections to his Life and Manners, that will be a Bar to his Preferment?

Do. Those Impediments we always overlook, if the Man can be useful to us. 'Tis true he is vitious in his Person, and very illiterate, but the worse he is, the better for our purpose; because such a one will be a Scandal to his Cloth, and bring a Reflection upon the Church, which 'tis our Business to expose and render contemptible to the People. Besides, we shall have another advantage by his being in that Station, he will bestow all the Livings in his Gift upon such of the Clergy as wrap towards his Principles, or who are directly of his own Cut and Stamp, which will add Strength to our Side; for you may plainly see what a Party we have got among the Clergy, by having had for so many Years the disposal of the best Benefices. Is it not visible how many Gown-men have been brought to Poll for our Friends, tho' they cannot be such Ideots as not to know we hate and dislike both them and their whole Order? However the Appearance at present interest draws many of 'em in to join with us.

Wh. Indeed we have sufficiently deluded some of the Sons of *Aaron*, and made 'em act a strange part. Well, I will endeavour to reconcile *Caleb* to the Surplice, and I doubt not but you will be a good Solicitor for him.

Do. Fear not me, I am for encouraging him or any other, who will inflame the People for us; 'tis by such Fellows, and by our Libels that we have outed so many Gentlemen of Birth, Parts and Fortune, which I hope will do our Work compleatly.

Wh. By the way, I have often wondred, how our Side, who are obnoxious to so much Censure, and are guilty of so many real Crimes, durst venture to cry Whore first, and to begin the Paper War, as we lately did, in such an outrageous manner.

Do.

Do. I'll explain this to you: Had we design'd to be only upon the Defensive, to have lain quiet had certainly been best. But resolving to make a desperate Push to recover the Power and Employments we had lost, or were in danger of losing, we thought in these sort of Skirmishes, as in other Warlike Attempts, that Fortune would favour those who began the Attack. We saw any Calm was fatal to our Interest, That the Tumults our *Kentish* Friends had rais'd towards the latter End of last Sessions began to vanish, and that the Country Party daily got Ground upon us in the Opinion of the People; we therefore judg'd it of absolute Necessity to sow fresh Sedition, to stir up Animosities, and to revive the Discords of the Nation; which our Pamphlets have, I hope, done effectually.

Wh. Without doubt you were in the right, not to let the new Ministry fix and take Root.

Do. Was it not Heroick Impudence in us to accuse 'em, by way of Anticipation, before we could possibly know what they had done, or would do?

Wh. But all our Party cry out they were not in the Interest of *England*, during the late Reigns.

Do. So we say indeed, but the Devil of any solid Proofs have we for these Allegations. Under the Rose, to my Knowledge, most of the particular Facts we charge 'em with, are meer Inventions of our own; but these Lyes serve to blacken them, and to amuse the People. But suppose what we say were true, as God knows 'tis far from it, do we like a Man a jot the worse for any of his former Actions, when he concurs with us heartily in what we are doing at that instant? If *Lucifer* would call himself a good Modern Whig, we should forgive his Apostacy, and take him in with us.

Wh. Notwithstanding I knew the innocence of the Lords lately employ'd, that did not hinder me from roaring out every where in the Country, that *England* was

was lost, if they were not remov'd, and our Friends restored.

Do. How was what you said received?

Wh. Very well among the Vulgar, but I met with frequent Rebukes, from Men of Sense, and such as understood the World.

Do. What did they say?

Wh. They told me, That if the Noble Persons, against whom I utter'd my Invectives, had been corrupt Ministers, they would be Richer than they are at present; they are Men of but small Expence, they were long in Business, and yet 'tis notorious they have got but very moderate Fortunes in the Service of so many Years; whereas, Mr. *Whiglove*, the Ministers you cry up at such a Rate, have been all along as Riotous as *Mark Antony*, and yet they are as Rich as *Crassus*: Nor has their luxurious Vanity hinder'd 'em from being now possess'd of vast Estates, and they have done their Business in a very few Years; from whence follows, that one Set Statesmen serv'd honestly, and as well as the Times would allow of, and that your Friends have only serv'd themselves, and Rob'd their Master.

Do. What did you reply to this?

Wh. Faith, I had recourse to our old Trick, which is audaciously denying plain Matter of Fact, when it makes against us.

Do. But then I hope you urg'd how much National Interest was neglected during the late Reigns, and that the Fault was in the Ministry.

Wh. This I did, but some answer'd me, That the Administration of Affairs was very difficult, under Princes who have a different Religion, and a different interest from their People. That such a Compliance, as might not be quite excusable, was requisite sometimes, in Matters of no great Importance, lest those should be brought in who would stick at nothing, and who were willing and ready to subvert the whole.

But

But your Friends have done ill under a good Reign, and when they had a Prince upon the Throne, dispos'd by Interest and Inclination to pursue the Welfare of his Country. Your Friends had no Women nor Priests to rule him who rul'd the whole, their Misgovernment therefore was not of Necessity, but Choice, because they found they got more by a bad than by a good Administration.

Do. I am forry to see there are Country Gentlemen
by whom we are so well known and understood.

Wh. Nay, they said a great deal more; and tis for you should know all, that you may be the able to Fence against the ſe Sort of Objections; when you meet with 'em in the Court of Reason.

Do Pray let's have the whole

Wh. 'Twas reproach'd to me, and
 enough, That we *Moderates* had
 all the most ferule Flawless, and
 That we had promoted of the
 the good Things that were
 Commons for ten Years together,
 a Standing Army, and stain'd the
 als of Treason, and for Enemies
 from the Treaty of *Utrecht* to the
 Death, our great *God* was in
 on with *France* to the utter
 meanest of the *Vulgar*. That ever
 Scorn and Indignation to be
 nifters of the *Force* of
 ceiving *Coin* *Taken* in the
sing, and murder'd on the
 a *Whig* Ministry, were
 ever *Smith* had been in the
 the *Church*.

Dr. Thompson: What type of animal was this? Is it a *Agouti*?

Mr. Tolson was replied to by saying that we ought not to have covered our own backs in such a manner. The State was ready enough to undo us without all this.

shameful Applications to their Minister. Several told me, *Europe* ow'd all its present Miseries to that fatal Treaty; That, in particular, it had thrown *England* into such a Labyrinth, that the wisest Men in the Realm knew not how to find their way out; That it has forced upon us a very difficult After-Game to recover *Spain* from the Duke of *Anjou*, when he is in Possession of it. They say, We and *Holland* joining as we did with *France*, frightened the King of *Spain* into making a Will in favour of the House of *Bourbon*; and that the more we feel the Calamities of the future War, the more we shall curse that pernicious Council. In short, I was told, That Men in their Senses by two or three Skins of Parchment, would never have given up to the French King so many large Dominions without striking Stroke, unless they had been soundly brib'd to it.

Do. Then they turn the taking Mony from *France* upon our Friends and our Party. I must own to you, it looks very suspicious upon us; for if it was worth the King of *France*'s while to give Mony for any thing that could be done in *England*, it must have been to procure the Partition-Treaty, which if it had taken the intended Effect, had been a good Pennyworth to him, tho' he had given a Million for it.

Wh. I insinuated, That *Holland* had join'd in this Tripple League against *Spain*, and that Commonwealths seldom were false to their own Interest.

Do. How did that work?

Wh. It serv'd well enough to amuse our own Fools; but the other Side bid me read over the First Part of the *Partition of the Lyon in the Fable* in the * Original French, written in behalf of the Emperor, where 'tis plainly made out, That this whole Transaction was managed with as much Secrecy in *Holland* as it was in *England*; and that it would have been as ill-relish'd by the States, had it been communicated to them, as it was by us when it was made publick here.

Do. 'Twas well that unlucky Book was not translated

* Le Partage du Lion de la Fable, &c.
A Cologne
L. An.
MDCC.

ted into *English*, it paints us in our true Colours, and lays at our Door the King of *Spain's* Will, and all the bad Effects it is like to produce in *Christendom*.

Wh. I thought that Book had been Translated.

Do. No, our Party palm'd upon the Town a *Grub-street* Translation of a Pamphlet that came out sometime afterwards, not written by the same Hand, nor with the same Spirit, and we call'd it, *The First and Second Part of the Partition of the Lyon in the Fable*.

Wh. 'Twas dexterously done, and I see you neglect nothing that tends to keep your Mismanagement from being laid open to the People.

Do. Our great Skill, and that, which has and must preserve us, is our exclaiming against the least Trip made by the other Side, and constantly throwing a Vail over all our own fatal and destructive Councils: And if there were but a sufficient number of Persons that could Rail and Lye with the same Impudence that my Self and some others I could name have lately done, I should not make the least doubt of doing what we pleas'd in *England*.

Wh. There is one Point I could hardly get over among the Country Gentlemen; which was, our Behaviour to the *Scots* and *Darien*. They told me this Colony would have secur'd us a Footing in the *Spanish West-Indies* in Case of the King of *Spain's* Death. 'Twas objected to me; That the *Spanish* Ambassador at that time scarce complain'd of this Settlement, but that Count *Tallard* gave in Memorial after Memorial about it.

Do. Well, what of all this?

Wh. They say, we should not so shamefully have abandon'd our Brethren of *Scotland*, when the best part of their Nobility and Gentry were embark'd in the Expences of that Expedition. They bad me read over certain Proclamations which indeed did contain some unusual Clauses. 'Twas alledg'd to me, That a very slender Countenance from hence would have preserv'd that Colony, which now would have been of infinite

Advantage to England. I endeavoured to palliate Things as well as I could, and said, 'twould have been an absolute Breach with *Spain*. To which was answer'd, Your Modern Whigs were rather afraid 'twould have been an absolute Breach with *France*, and durst not make a Step that might then interrupt their Measures.

Do. Indeed to have succour'd the *Scots* might have given great Offence to the *French* King, while the two Treaties were upon the Anvil: But had our Party known he would have accepted of the Will, *Darien* should have been assisted in such a manner as would have given his Grandson sufficient Trouble in the *Indies*; and I must own this Affair, and our sacrificing the Emperor in the Treaty which gave the *Spanish* Succession to the Duke of *Bavaria's* Line, excluding the House of *Austria*, as well as our making *France* so great, as we did by both those Treaties, will be eternal Blots in the Scutcheon of a Whig-Ministry: But what is there our Impudence will not bear us out in? We have rail'd at *France* so long, that tho' we should betray *England* twenty times over, the Rabble will hardly be brought to believe it; and our Comfort is we can so delude 'em that they shall not see their own Destruction till we have had an opportunity to fleece and rob 'em for some Years longer, and then 'tis to be hop'd we shall be grown too great to be question'd or call'd to an Account by a few resty Country Gentlemen.

Wh. As to our Usage of the Emperor, and as to our scandalous neglect of the Protestant Interest in *Germany* at the Treaty of *Ryswick*, which Matters were transacted while our Party had the Power, I had Flims and Excuses that pass'd well enough upon the Fools I convers'd with; but in *Suffolk*, at a Club where there were several Gentlemen of Figure and Fortune, and where I was crying up our Noble Friends, it was objected to me, the immense Debt in which they had involv'd the Kingdom during their Administration.

Do. You should have deny'd Matter of Fact.

Wh. I attempted to do so; but one of them pull'd out

out

out of his Pocket an exact State of the Debts made up the 5th of November last ; and such, he said, as might be depended upon,

Do. Well, what did they amount to ?

Wh. The Gross Debt of *England*, reckoning Principal and Interest then due, was on that Day, Seventeen Millions Thirty one thousand eight hundred thirty three Pounds, Eleven Shillings and Seven Pence.

Do. But there are Funds provided for most of these Sums.

Wh. Yes, the Act for making good Deficiencies has engag'd the Old and New Customs, &c. for Four Millions sixty eight thousand five hundred fifty nine Pounds, fourteen Shillings and six Pence. There are likewise other Funds settled for One Million eight hundred seventy five thousand four hundred sixty three Pounds, nineteen Shillings and five Pence. The three Nine Pences and the Duties one Salt and Stamp Paper are also set out to pay the Annities, Lottery-Tickets, and Interest Money to the Bank and *New-East-India* Company; which Debts did then amount to Five Millions, six hundred and twelve thousand nine hundred ninety five Pounds and fifteen Shillings.

Do. Let's see your Paper. [*Reads.*]

The Act for making good	}	l.	s.	d.
Deficiencies, &c. Provided for				
by the general Mortgage,	}	4,068,559	14	06
Provided for by other				
Funds, ———	}	1,875,463	19	05
Provided for by the three				
Ninepences, and the Duties on	}	5,612,995	15	00
Salt and stamp Paper, ———				
Total of the Debts provid-	}	11,557,619	08	11
ed for, ———				

Well, all this we are out of care for.

Wh. Yes, but read further and you will find a long

List of Deficiencies, for which as yet there is no Provision made ; Exchequer Bills, Malt Tickets, first three Shilling Aid, twenty per Cent. on Paper, third Quarterly

terly Poll, Leather Duty, three Shilling Aid, and second two Shilling Aid.

Do. I see it, and on the said 5th. of *November* the Principal and Interest of these Deficiencies amounted to Two Millions three Hundred sixty seven Thousand five Hundred thirty nine Pound, two Shillings and eight Pence.

Wh. But there are other Debts still lying out, that is to say, to the Navy, and Victualling Office, Eleven hundred thousand Pound. To the Transport-Service for the Reduction of *Ireland*, Four hundred and twenty thousand Pound, and to the Land-Forces and for Arrears of Subsidies to the Allies, about Eight hundred thousand Pound: There is likewise owing to the Civil-List at least six hundred and fifty thousand Pound. And to Prince *George of Denmark*, on a Privy Seal for a valuable Consideration, Eighty five thousand Pound Principal Money, and Fifty two thousand two hundred and seventy five Pound for Interest, at six per Cent. from the 31st of *July*, 1691. to the 31st of *October*, 1701.

<i>Do.</i> Let's see the Pen and Ink.	l.	s.	d.
Total of the Debts provided for,	11,557,019	08	11
Deficiencies unprovided for,—	2,367,539	02	08
Debts in Publick Offices, ———	2,320,000	00	00
Arrears to the Civil-List, ———	650,000	00	00
Prince <i>George's</i> Debt,	137,275	00	00

In all, 17,031,833 11 07

Wh. But out of this you are to deduct Sixteen hundred thousand Pound which may arise by the sale of the *Irish* Forfeitures, and which is appropriated to the Payment of several of these Debts.

Do. *Whiglove*, I cannot help smiling to see thee mention that Article with such a serious Countenance: Can't thou be so dull as to imagine we ever design that any thing shall be made of those Forfeitures? I wish we had it as much in our power to confound the Authors and Promoters of that Resumption, as we have it in our Intention

tention to confound the Act it self. We must render it ineffectual, were it only upon this single Consideration, That all things ought to be done that may bring Disgrace on the Proceedings of the two last Parliaments. But I find a strong Inclination in our Party to repeal the very Act; and you may observe most of our late Pamphlets look that way; Sixteen hundred thousand Pound is but a trivial Sum to be levy'd upon the whole People of *England*, but 'tis exceeding hard to take an hundred and ten thousand Pounds *per Ann.* of good *Irish* Lands out of the Pockets of not above seventeen Persons (for the Bulk of the whole forfeited Estates was given among this Number) who for at least three Years together, had wasted their Time and Labour at Court in begging of these poor Grants; and on my Conscience, the People seem now to be so delicately disposed, that I believe they would readily consent to eight Shillings in the Pound, rather than not break into this Resumption. Don't you see they languish for Taxes; and were they not in a manner angry with the last House of Commons, because they endeavour'd to save their Mony? I hope our Party will take care the same Objection may not lie against them: And in order to it, one of the best things they can promote, is that all these *Irish* Lands may be restored to the Grantees.

Wh. I doubt this will not go down so glibly as I could wish.

Do. If it be done at all, it must be push'd at the first Heat, in the Honey Moon that is now between the De-luded People and the Modern Whigs; for as soon as our Friends the Rabble come to be cool, and think a little, they will look into this and several other Designs we are forming for our own Advantage.

Wh. Have you made any Steps toward defeating this Act?

Do. Can you suspect we have been wanting in so material a Point? Have you not seen the Circular Letter, directed to the Justices of the Peace, Grand Jury, Clergy, &c. of that Kingdom?

Wh.

Wh. What is the Purport of it?

Do. 'Tis dated at *Dublin* the 23d of *December*, 1701. and begins thus: *Gentlemen*, 'Tis the Opinion of our Friends in *England*, who have an Opportunity to make the best Judgment of Things, That if the King be rightly apply'd to, it may be in his Power to procure us a Relaxation of the Grievances which the Act of Resumption has brought upon us; they therefore have taken Care to meet frequently, to consult of proper Methods, and have imparted their Thoughts to us; We have follow'd their Advice, and have made it our Business to have the Sense of the Nobility and Gentry here concerning the same Affair. The Result of all the Consultations both there and here, and our Unanimous Opinion is, That the best and indeed only way is for all the Counties in this Kingdom to represent our Grievances, and implore his Majesties Favour and Assistance.

Wh. What does this Letter tend to?

Do. The Design of it is to procure Addresseees from all the Counties of *Ireland*, that the Act of Resumption may be Repeal'd; but you may perceive from the Letter it moves originally from our Party here, who would be glad to raise the same Ferment in *Ireland*, as they have done in *England*, being desirous to render the House of Commons equally Odious to both Kingdoms. I suppose you will shortly see thee Address it self, 'tis as Insolent as we could wish it, and Couch'd in Terms almost as Disrespectful to the Parliament, as the *Kentish* Petition; but it bespatters the Trustees bravely. Among others, it has this Expression; That the whole Scheme of the Act, and the manner of Executing of it, depresses and discourages the Protestant Interest of this Kingdom, and encourages the Papists, &c I suppose 'twas penn'd here, and sent over thither, as the Sence of the Great Ones of *England*. How some Gentlemen of worth have been drawn in to Sign it, I can't imagin, but there is nothing we cannot bring about by our Artifices.

Wh. Some Persons talk of taking three or four years Purchase for these Estates, and so to confirm the Grants by Act of Parliament.

Do.

Do. I have heard of this Project, but like it not, 'tis a plain Confession, we have at least Robb'd the Nation of so much; and 'twill still be a Resumption, which we must never countenance in any manner, who intend to promote and set up a corrupt and rapacious Ministry. For if part of an exorbitant Grant may be resum'd, by the same Rules of Justice, they may resume part of any exorbitant Gain made upon the King and Kingdom; and if such a dangerous President should be established, no Man can Plunder the Publick with any Safety. I am therefore for insisting upon the Prerogative, and for Repealing the whole Act, 'tis but calling it a *French Design*, and we may do the Work; besides, this is one of the Points the Heads and Leaders of our Party have undertaken to carry.

Wh. I am still afraid the People will not so easily part with Sixteen hundred thousand Pound.

Do. Well what we cannot do directly, we must endeavour to accomplish by indirect Means: First, We will find Fault with whatever has been done by the Trustees: We will say they take Bribes, give corrupt Judgments, that they have harra's'd all the people of *Ireland*, that they favour the Papists, and make it their whole Business to discountenance the Protestant Interest: We will try to cramp 'em for the future in their Powers: We will give 'em all possible Discouragement and Discountenance: We will promote any sort of Accusation that may be made against 'em: We will encourage Petitions, let 'em be never so groundless or unreasonable; in short, we will interpose so many Delays and Obstructions, that the whole Affair shall languish to such a Degree, as all the Promoters of the Act shall grow weary of it; for, say what you will, we must utterly extinguish that publick Spirit which some People have, of endeavouring to save the Kingdom's Mony, because at the long-run 'twill gain 'em such Popularity, as must in the Conclusion be fatal to our Party.

Wh. If that be your Resolution, your Debt will then be above Seventeen Millions, which must be a heavy Load upon those who are to come after us.

Do. Prithee what care we for Posterity; this Burthen as you call it, will chiefly fall upon the Landed-men, and 'tis our Interest to humble the Antient Gentry, because they know our Originals, and call us *Upstarts* and *Leeches*, that are Swoln big by Sucking up the Nations Blood. Besides it has never been the Principle of us Modern Whigs to look before us, we mind nothing but the present, let

the future take Care of it self, our Business must be to gain Time and fresh Opportunities of increasing our own Fortunes; but pray tell me, what did the Country Puts, you Convers'd with, say concerning this great Debt?

Wh. Why they told me it was brought upon the Kingdom by your corrupt and loose Management, that if you had been either Wise, Careful, or Honest, *England* need not at this Day to have owed a single Penny.

Do. How did they make that out?

Wh. They show'd me that at the beginning of the Revolution, the Crown-Revenue yielded clear of all Charges whatsoever in the Collection above two Millions *per An.* That the War did not diminish the Excise; That supposing the Excise and Customs both together had been thereby decreas'd Five hundred thousand Pound a year, yet if you had not given away the Hearth-Mony, and if you had but manag'd the Revenues, and protected our Foreign Trade with any tolerable Care, the Old Branches which would have been a very sufficient Fund for Fifteen hundred thousand Pound a Year. That the three Additional Nine Pences which you have laid upon Beer and Ale, would have been about Four hundred thousand Pound a Year. That the Four Shilling Aid might with Ease have been brought to have yielded two Millions a Year; so that you had here for the War Four Millions annually, bating One hundred thousand Pound. Over and above all this, you laid other extraordinary Duties upon the Excise from the Year 1690. inclusive, to the Year 1693. inclusive, which in the whole produc'd One Million one hundred and twelve thousand two hundred and seventy four Pound five Shillings and four Pence. Besides which, during the War, you have had two single Polls which amounted to above Five hundred and fifty thousand Pound, and two Quarterly Polls which yielded near Eleven hundred thousand Pound; and the Capitation, &c. amounting to above Six hundred thousand Pound Net Mony. Add to this the Malt-Duty, which produced Nine hundred forty seven thousand one hundred and thirteen Pounds six Shillings and nine Pence half Penney. Another Gentleman likewise told me, That during the War, there were levied New Impositions or Customs, and Double Tunnage, besides the Duty upon Leather, upon Marriages, Births, &c. upon Hackney Coaches, &c. upon Salt, and a Duty on Stamp Paper, &c. and upon Glass Windows.

Do. Well, what did he infer from this?

Wh.

Wh. He said, if we had done that at first, which we were compell'd to at last, if these Impositions had been laid in the beginning of the War, the Nation had paid little less upon the whole than they did, and our Debts now had been but inconsiderable.

Do. I hope you reply'd, That we had taken this Course, but that the Country Party hinder'd us.

Wh. I say'd so, but they Laugh'd at me, and answer'd, That we were all the while Masters of the Field, that the other Side could seldom Number above Eighty, and for several Years together were never strong enough to carry a single Vote, and that consequently all this Male-Administration lay at our own Doors.

Do. I cannot deny but that, within the Year, all the Mony might have been rais'd, which was necessary for the War, even at the Extent 'twas manag'd; so that according to the Notion of your Country Gentlemen, the Kingdom had been at this Day very little in Debt, and without doubt this had been best for *England*; but let me tell you, it had not been so well for us and our Party. If the War had been carry'd on frugally, and at such an Expence, as the Nation was able to bear, How could we have got such prodigious Fortunes, as all of us have done, that have medled in the King's Business? Had the Mony been rais'd within the Year, the Publick would have had little or no Interest to pay; he would have been thought an Extortioner, that had ask'd above Six *per Cent.* for his Mony. High Premiums had been quite out of Doors, Tallies must have been all along at a Par, and if the House of Commons had been hard put to it to provide ever Year for that Years Expence, they would have made an earlier Inspection into the laying out of the Kingdom's Treasure; therefore our Friends, when they came into play, took right Measures for themselves, tho' fatal ones to their Country, for the first thing they did was to plunge the State into as many Debts as possibly they could.

Wh. But I have heard some even of the hottest Sticklers for you, very much censure this part of your Conduct.

Do. You mean, I warrant you, a Parcel of four Old Whigs, who intend well to the Publick, and would have every Thing go in a right Course; but can they imagine us such Fools as to be of a Party, and to make such a noise in the World as we do, only for the bare Reconpence of being call'd honest Men; and good Patriots? No, no, those

musty Morals are Laugh'd at now a-days. However, let us Extol and Flatter those Gentlemen you Talk of, as long as they will lend us their Reputations, and grave Countenances, to play the Knave under. Let us tell 'em they are in the right, but for all that, we who are the bustling Men, and who have our Fortunes to make, will pursue our own Game. I tell you positively, our Party could not do a wiser Thing for themselves, than to run the Nation into this Immense Debt.

Wh. But how will it ever be paid?

Do. Let them look to that to whom the Money is owing, it shall never trouble my Head, I'll take care of One, and withdraw my own Effects at the first Approach of Danger, which I shall smell out as soon as another, and so let every one shift for himself.

Wh. However, I wish we were clear of this Incumbrance, 'twill make raising of Money hereafter very difficult.

Do. So much the better; for the more Difficulties the Government lies under, the higher our Premiums and Interest must be who design to be the Lenders. How do you think so many of us have rais'd such vast Estates? Was it not from the Distresses of the Publick, when they were forced to give 20, 30 and 40, nay I my self have made 50 per Cent. of my Money? Take it from me, Mr *Whiglove*, the only time for a Cunning Man to thrive, in, is, when the Government is Poor; at the Rate I live, Five or Six such Years as the Three last were, would make me a Begger. I had as live lock what I have up in a Trunk, as let it out at Six or Seven per Cent. but by the Grace of God I hope to see better Days.

Wh. Do you begin then to Smell high Premiums, large Interest, and a swinging Discompt upon Tallies.

Do. Yes. I have a strong and savoury Scent of all this in my Nostrils, just at this happy Moment: Methinks I see Officers of the Fleet and Army, Widows of gallant Men that have dy'd in the Service, and whole Shoals of those who shall furnish Stores and Naval Preparations, come begging to me, as they did often, during the last War, that I would discompt their Tallies at 40 and 50 per Cent. loss; those were glorious Days, which we shall not fail to see again, if we can to work, as to restore our Noble Friends to the Exercise of all their former Power.

Wh. You're in a Rapture Mr. *Double*.

Do. I must own these Golden Expectations somewhat transport me.

Wh.

Wh. But I hear some discreet Persons of our Party say, They will promote raising, within the Year, the whole Money that from time to time shall be wanting for the future War.

Do. You are upon me again with your Old Whigs, I know this comes from them, they are Men of fine Notions, but take it from me, they have not practical Understandings; however, let 'em weary themselves for a while in finding out Wayes and Means of raising within the Year, such a Sum as we shall want, be assur'd, not a Man of us Modern Whigs will give 'em any Help or Light in a Scheme of that Nature, 'tis too much against our Interest. And when they once find in what a Wood they are, they will be glad to close with us, who are for Projects, Remote Funds of Credit, and for running the Nation into yet a further Debt; and if we can but get 'em into this for Two or Three Years, 'twill then be too late to see their Error, for by that time we shall have pawn'd the whole Kingdom.

Wh. I see you are very fond of Remote Funds.

Do. And with Reason, for they are the bravest Things that ever were invented for enriching private Men, out of the Ruins of the Publick. Next to what I got by dealing with the Clippers, I owe the best part of my Fortune to these Sort of Projects; whoever promoted 'em First had a long Head, and a deep Reach, and did very well consider and consult the Interest of his own Party.

Wh. Indeed I observe that they who are deep in these Funds deeply, are our best and warmest Friends.

Do. And yet I could never beat this Notion into the Heads of some of your Old Whigs, who forsooth are still for the ancient Ways of Supply, and the ancient Methods of the Exchequer: For my part to the last moment of my Life I shall persist in this Opinion, That they were in the Right who at the beginning of the Revolution cry'd, *Borrow all you can; the more you borrow, the more Friends you fix to your Side; create New Funds, all who shall be drawn in to lend upon 'em are embark'd with you in the same Bottom to run all your Hazards:* And you see what good Effect this has had.

Wh. It has wrought to Admiration.

Do. Yes, but you'll more applaud the Subtilty of this Council, if you thoughtly consider our Circumstances. When we came first to Court, most of us were as lean and hungry as so many Wolves, and were resolv'd to grow fatter as fast as ever we could; and you may remember we did what we pleas'd, and had whatever we ask'd for.

Wh.

Wh. Truly you had a full and quick Harvest.

Do. After this we were to employ what we had gain'd to the best Advantage, and how could we reap more Profit than by these Projects and remote Funds. In two or three years, what by Begging and what by Cheating, a great part of the ready Money of the Nation was got into our Hands, and then we began to wound the Publick with its own Weapons; for we promoted high Premiums and large Interest, and made the Loans our selves. We got a Bank erected, and our own Party were the first and principal Subscribers to it, and there we sold out at 40 and 50 *per Cent.* profit. We devis'd Exchequer-Bills, and got prodigious Sums to be granted from Year to Year for their Circulation, most of which Money we shar'd among those of our own Gang: In short, *Midas*-like, every thing we touch'd was converted into Gold.

Wh. Beyond all Dispute you laid your Scheme with great Skill and Foresight.

Do. But we had a deeper and farther View than all this; for resolving, as we always did, to play corrupt Game, it he was highly necessary for us to form to our Selves a Strength that at all times might protect us in the Thefts and Depredations we propos'd to make upon the Publick; and could we have braver and bolder Troops to Fight in our Defence, than as it were an Army of Men with their pockets full of Bank-bills, Bank-stock, Malt and Lottery Tickets, Exchequer-bills, *East-India* Stock, and who bore in their Hands Tallies instead of Staves and Truncheons?

Wh. 'Tis impossible the Country-party can be able to resist this War-like Preparation.

Do. So I think, for our Forces are under admirable Discipline. If we bid 'em attack any Man's Reputation, the Word of Command is no sooner given, but they fall on without either Fear or Wit. If we tell 'em it is for their Interest to overthrow such a part of the Constitution, or to destroy such a Fundamental, they run blindly on without any Sense of Danger. And the Trumpet with which we awaken the Courage of our Camp when it begins to droop, is Deficiencies, Deficiencies, Deficiencies; whenever that is sounded in their Ears, they are presently in Arms and ready for the Battle.

Wh. So that you reckon this Debt of Seventeen Millions a Strength to our Party, though it be a weakning to the Kingdom.

Do. Yes I do, and with sold Reason: And if the debt were

were doubled we should be just twice as strong. If *England* comes once to owe Thirty or Four and thirty Millions, to which our Conduct drives, I make not the least doubt but that we, having the Publick thus in our Clutches, shall be an over Ballance to the Land-Interest.

Wh. If you could compass that your Work were done, for then all the Power would be in your Hands.

Do. 'Tis that we aim at. Pray do but consider if there be a War, which truly I think now unavoidable, there must be levied upon Land Four or Five Shillings in the Pound: As for my part, I am for more if we can get it; and you know there are few Estates without some Clog or other upon 'em. This being the Case, the Country Gentlemen will be as much impoverish'd as our Hearts can wish, our ready Mony in the mean while will increase like a Snow-ball, rolling it about as we intend to do from Fund to Fund, so that all the Fat of the Land will be ours, and then most of the Elections will be at our Disposal; for the Country Puts, that make such a Noise, when high Taxes compel 'em to leave off House-keeping, and their bounteous way of living, will immediately lose their Interest in their respective Counties and Corporations; then shall we go down, frolick at our Ease, and wallowing in Wealth, and beat them so out of the Field that they shall not dare to show their sneaking Faces. Some small Purchases we shall make in Land, and being able to live so much better than our Neighbours, we shall carry all before us. In this manner we propose getting to be Knights of the Shire; and as to the Burroughs, what will it be to a hundred of us to scatter his Five hundred Pound a Man to procure an Election? A Morning-Job at the *Exchange* will do it when Tallies are at a good Discount, whereas your poor Country-Gentlemen, who have none of these ways of thriving, cannot afford to make such Expences, and consequently we shall undermine 'em in every Place.

Wh. I see this Debt of Seventeen Millions will work several ways to our Advantage.

Do. Yes, but 'twill be much better if by another loose Administration we can see it doubled, of which I have a fair Prospect; let me tell you we shall then have a certain Game.

Wh. But will not the Country begin to smother our Designs?

Do. Never fear that, we have a thousand different ways to delude them. You know very well that most of these Funds

Funds of Credit are got into the Hands of such as live in *London*.

Wh. I am told the *Dutch* are deeply concern'd very near in every Fund, which they have bought up here by Commission.

Do. That's true enough, but this operates another way to our Advantage, for it helps to engage *Holland* in the Measures of our Party; but, as I said before, the Bulk of this great Sum is possess'd by our Friends in Town, who have been the chief Getters since the Revolution. Now I'll show you what use we make of these sort of Men.

Wh. Pray let's hear.

Do. First, 'tis they that disperse and applaud all our Libels, false News, and all the Scandals which we coin from day to day; 'twas they who gave wrong Turns to whatever the Country-Party did or propos'd in the two last Parliaments: If any had a mind to look into the Publick Accompts, or to save the Nation's Mony, we got these our Tools to represent 'em to their Correspondents and Relations in the Country, as Persons disaffected to the King and Government; and mark what I tell you, if any one hereafter shall be so impertinent as to oppose the Schemes which we have ready cut and dry'd, we will take such care that our Agents shall brand 'em through the Kingdom every Post for *Jacobites* and Pensioners of *France*. And this we are able to do, having dipt *London* so deeply in all these Loans; for the great affection our Friends bear to their Tallies, Stocks, and Riches of the like kind in which they abound, subjects have 'em intirely to us and our direction, and makes them have no more concern for the Publick of *England*, than they have for the Publick of *Japan*. These Gimcracks and new Devices of Funds, Stocks, Exchequer-bills, Malt and Lottery Tickets, have turn'd the Brains of a great part of the City: There is not such a thing left as Publick Spirit, and in its room we have set up Knavery, Extortion and Self-Interest.

Wh. So you make account that having poyson'd the Capital and Fountain-head, you can disperse the Infection to the outward Parts as often as you please.

Do. You hit the Mark: As for Example, if a Lie is to be spread, here we forge it, and it goes round *London* in a Day; next Post carries it to the remoter Counties, and so it passes for current through the Kingdom, and perhaps not one in a hundred ever comes to be disabused. Do not you think 'tis of great Importance to us to be able to write into the Country, That 'tis the Sense of the whole Town that the Old Ministers

sters should be restor'd, and that the New Ones were in the Interest of *France*?

Wh. But I hope what you say is really the Sense of the Town.

Do. The Sense of a Pudding; 'tis only the Sense of us who are deeply concern'd in these Projects, and therefore desire to see their Authors & Inventors once more in Power that we may play the same Game over again. I will own a Secret to you, which you must communicate but to very few, and it is, That *London* at this time is no more the Pulse of *England*, than it is the Pulse of *China*; these Seventeen Millions we have been talking of, occasion this Town to have a distinct Intrest from the rest of the Nation.

Wh. 'Twill then be more so, if, as you propose, the Debt shall be encreas'd.

Do. I see you begin to understand my Drift: 'Tis of infinite consequence to have such strong Head-Quarters from whence we can make what Sallies and Incursions we think fit upon the Laws and Constitution of our Country.

Wh. But, let me tell you, I cannot perceive in the Parts where I have been, that you have made any Impression which is like to be lasting; 'tis true, your Lyes and Libels have had a good Effect for the present, but to me they seem like intoxicating Drugs, which make the Patient mad for a while, but in a little time he recovers his former Senses and Understanding.

Do. If that should be the Case, we must repeat the Dose, and ply the People with fresh and stronger Poyson; we have a Mine of Lyes and Scandal that is never to be exhausted. Pray how did the *Black List* take in the Counties that were under your Inspection?

Wh. Mr. *Kingcheat*, I thank him, sent me ten Quire of 'em into *Essex*; and at the same time I had a Letter from Mr. *Robland*, intimating that I should not be afraid to disperse those Papers; for that all the Countenance imaginable was given to any Thing that pretended to reflect upon the Members of the last House of Commons, so that faith I e'en distributed my Parcel.

Do. Were not you a little frightened, when you saw by the Gazetts that most of those Gentlemen were chosen again.

Wh. Egad I did not like it; for I found that of One hundred sixty seven, who are nam'd in that List, there are but six and forty left out of this Parliament: Sure our Friends

Friends had conceiv'd greater Hopes from that Libel, or they had never ventur'd upon so bold a Stroak.

Do. Look you, there is nothing we were not to hazard in order to have a Majority; if that Point is gain'd we are safe, if not you know we are answerable for so many other Crimes, that this will hard be worth the naming; besides, shall we be afraid to asperse particular Gentlemen after we have dar'd to vilify the House of Commons in general? But my best Hope is, that we are too many to be punish'd; for if we are call'd to an Account, Notice must be taken of the City Magistrates and the Justices of Peace here in Town; who have suffer'd the Hawkers to cry such scandalous Papers about the Streets.

Wh. Indeed I never thought there could be any great danger in erring with the Multitude: And if our Success be such as you and some of our Friends boast of, perhaps we may be strong enough quite to subdue the Constitution; and if that be so, instead of Punishment, our dispersing these Libels will be reckon'd as a meritorious piece of Service.

Do. Now you speak chearfully, and I shall reckon Things to be upon a brave Foot if I could once see the Representatives of the People so degenerate, as tamely to suffer us to trample upon them and their Authority as we have lately done: Impunity for this Insolence of ours would render that Assembly as contemptible as we wish to see it; therefore one of the first Points we must endeavour to gain, is to have all these scurrilous Pamphlets upon the House of Commons pass over in Silence.

Wh. Pray tell me, was there any perticutar Meaning in the Printing some of those Gentlemen's Names in the Black or Gothick Letter?

Do. I was not in Town when that Paper came out, for I was then busy in the North about my own Election; but since I came up, they who printed this List have let me into the whole Mystery.

Wh. There are two Names in larger Letters, and nine in the little Gothick Letter.

Do. The main End of publishing that Libel was, if possible, to have expos'd all those hundred sixty seven Gentlemen to the Fury of the Rabble.

Wh. I thought you only intended to make 'em lose their Elections.

Do.

Do. No, no, we had a farther Prospect than that comes too, if that had been the only Design their Names had been printed all in the same sort of Letter; but, under the Rose, our Party thought they had rais'd such a Ferment in the People that they could bring 'em to any Extravagance whatsoever.

Wh. O, It ake it now; probably you imagin'd that the Mob might have been incited to commit some Violence.

Do. Yes, yes, that was the secret Drift of the Club that projected this Paper: When I first saw it I began presently to flatter my self with the Imagination that some of our Enemies, and *England's* best Friends, would have been Murder'd in the Streets, or at least that the Rabble might have been so hounded upon 'em as to have plunder'd and gutted their Houses, and by the black Letters 'twas pointed out to 'em who they should begin with.

Wh. Would a Proceeding of this Nature have been to our Advantage?

Do. Yes, without doubt; and take it from me, Mr. *Whiglove*, we shall never have the People thoroughly of our Side till we have soundly dipt 'em in Blood and Plunder; it engages 'em past a Possibility of ever retreating. I would ask you these plain Questions, Are not the Crimes of our Party so manifold, that our Heads and Leaders can never be safe unless we overthrow the Constitution? Is it to be overthrown without Force? And can we employ that Force better then against those who are able to give us the most Opposition? God's my Life, if that Paper had but produced five or six Murders, as we intended, it had been very seasonable, and of infinite Importance to our future Designs. *A dead Dog never bites.* And 'twas *Matchiavel's* way of silencing such Fools as pretend to love their Country in a corrupt Age: Besides, we would have given this Turn to our Villany, that the Rabble had only exercis'd the Sovereign Authority that's lodg'd in 'em; and our Party would have affirm'd, that if the People have a Power to direct their Representatives, it follows, that they may call 'em to an Account, and do Justice upon 'em whenever they mislike their Proceedings.

Wh. But your Design did not take Effect.

Do. No, Pox on't the People are not yet so mad as we could wish 'em: To bring 'em to the Rage and Distraction that will be necessary for the compleating all our Projects, must be the Work of Time and Patience.

Wh. There is nothing I wonder at more in your whole Conduct, than the admirable Use you made of three Gentlemen's supping together at the *Blue-Posts* in the *Hay-Market*.

Do. That Matter happen'd just before my going into *Holland*, to carry on the main Design.

Wh. This Story has made a great Noise in the World: Pray tell me how the Fact really was?

Do. I know a great deal of that Matter: You may remember about that time we were at a dead Loss for a Lye that should carry with it some appearance of Truth, which none of our inventing had done for many Years.

Wh. Indeed our Scandals have been generally so improbable, that I am often asham'd to disperse 'em only there is nothing so gross that our Party will not swallow: But here you had some Foundation to work upon.

Do. But never was there a thing better improv'd: The Truth of the Business, as I have since heard, was thus: Mr. *Hammond* and Mr. *Tredenham* had agreed to sup together that Night: About seven in the Evening Mr. *Hammon* and one Mr. *Awbery*, a Person of good Substance and Credit in the City, came to give Dr. *D' Avenant* a Visit at *Grey's Inn*. The Dr. propos'd to 'em supping at a Tavern in *Holbourn*. But Mr. *Hammond* answer'd He was engag'd to meet Mr. *Tredenham* at t'other end of the Town, and desir'd the Dr. and Mr. *Awbery* to be of their Company; but Mr. *Awbery* said he had Business in the City. So they went together without him; and in the way made a Visit, where they staid till near Nine a Clock; from thence they went to Mr. *Tredenham's* Lodgings, who had left word he was at the *Blue-Posts*; whom accordingly they found there with D. *Barnardino* the *Spanish* Consul whom he had met in the *Park*, and being an old Acquaintance had propos'd Supping with him. In a quarter of an hour Supper came in; when the Meat was actually upon the Table, it seems Monsieur *Poussin* came to that House and inquir'd for D. *Barnardino*; the Drawer fetch'd out *Barnardino* to him, who told Monsieur *Poussin* he was at Supper there with Mr. *Tredenham*: (Now M. *Tredenham*, you must know, had a general Acquaintance with Monsieur *Poussin*, they having lodg'd in the same House together.) Upon which, D. *Barnardino* brought Mr. *Poussin* into the Room; but seeing two Strangers there, he made an Apology and fate down. They Supp'd in a Ground-Room, the Door all the while open, and two Waiters attending.

Wh. Is this accidental Meeting all the Foundation you had

had for a Story which had made such a Noise all over England? Pray how long did the Company stay there?

Do. Not above three quarters of an hour at the most, for the moment Supper was ended the Company separated: And, I am afraid, they will be able to prove upon Oath, if there should be occasion, every Circumstance that has been here related. You are likewise to know that, whether it were by Accident or Contrivance I can't tell, but so it was, one of our Noble Friends supp'd in the same House that Night.

Wh. That looks very oddly.

Do. So it does, when you consider that Care was taken that the Marshal of the Ceremonies should serve Poussin with his Order to depart the Kingdom, while he was in this Company.

Wh. Is that Fact true?

Do. Most certainly.

Wh. You cannot imagin to what a Height we have blown this Story in the Country: I have heard some of our Party say, they intended to Impeach 'em for this Business.

Do. No, Pox on't, we must take Care not to bring it to any publick Examination, 'tis what I believe the Gentlemen wish for; for then all our Lying and Roguery will be detected. And 'tis not our Custom to bring any thing to the Test, nor are we at all asham'd when any of our Falsities are laid open; what we look for is to blast particular Persons, and that the Lye may have present Operation, and when 'tis found out or worn thred-bare, is it not an easy thing to forge a new One? I can't but Laugh at some who say they all ought to have risen from Table, and run out of the Room, as soon as Monsieur Poussin enter'd.

Wh. If they had done so, what turn would you have given it?

Do. That should have avail'd 'em little; for if they had been together but the fourtieth part of a Minute, we would have fac'd Truth out of England, as you see we did in our Libels, that they had been there 4 or 5 hours.

Wh. Well, I shall think our Party very skilful, if we can bring the People to suspect Persons for selling England, who live in a very strait and humble Condition; and believe those Innocent, who having been born to nothing, and who were not above eight Years in publick Business, yet are now able to spend Eight thousand Pound a Year, and not hurt their Estates.

Do. And yet all this, with our Impudence, we are able to do.

But are our Noble Friends to be blam'd, when they had such a Hand in advising the Partition-Treaty, if they endeavour to throw off from themselves, and cast upon others, the Guilt and Suspicion of being brib'd by France? And I will be bold to

say,

say, That this Story, as frivolous and ridiculous as it was, lost Mr. Hammond his Interest at Cambridge, who was so industrious and active in the Service of the University; and has had such an Influence, as to prejudice above Thirty other Gentlemen in their Elections; for you see we made it the Preamble to the Black List, and it has been a principal Ingredient in all the other Libels we have publish'd.

Wh. But have you done your Work by all these Lies and Scandals, by the high Ferment you have rais'd in the Nation, and by the Divisions you have now reviv'd, which seem'd in a manner appeas'd presently after the Prorogation of the last Parliament? Have you establish'd your Selves by all this Bustle, and do you now stand upon firm Ground?

Do. That I can't tell; but of this I am certain, That Mischief and Confusion make more for the Interest of our Party than a settled Posture of Affairs, or a good Understanding between the King and his People. I am of Sir John Falstaff's Mind, I thank God for these civil Discords, they offend none but the Virtuous; I laud them, I praise them. A Calm at Sea makes me Sicker than a little Storm: Do you know that the Disposition we observ'd in the Country Party towards Quietness and Moderation, made us resolve to raise all this Hurly-burly?

Wh. I wish you would be so kind as to let me know how Matters pass'd in Town, after I left you to make my Circuit in the Country.

Do. Well then, that you may have the whole Chain of Contrivances in your Head, you must understand that the Eyes of the People began to be open'd, and to think the House of Commons in the right in not declaring an immediate War with France, till the King had form'd his Alliances, till our Fleet was ready; and not to break with Spain, in a Juncture, when we had to the value of so many Millions of English Effects abroad, which would have been seiz'd if a Rupture had happened, and which our Merchants have since had Time to withdraw or secure. And all sober Men beginniag to relish this Council as Safe and Wise, we were at a great Loss what to do, for the only Occasion we had of clamouring at the House of Commons was at an End, and we knew that all Returns of the People to their right Senses and Understanding would be fatal to us.

Wh. Indeed I gave every thing for gone, when I saw no Mob up, and no Tumults rais'd by all the scurrilous Pamphlets we had Publish'd.

Do. But that which perplex'd us most, was, the good Temper which we observ'd to be in the other Party.

Wh.

Wh. Had you any Knowledge of what they intended to do next Sessions in case the Parliament had Sate?

Do. Yes, Yes, we were acquainted with their whole Scheme; nor were they shy of declaring it, both in publick and private Conversation.

Wh. Pray what was it?

Do. They did unanimously resolve to support the King in the Alliances he should make. And if these Alliances did lead us into a Necessary War, they were determin'd to engage in it as far as could well consist with the Abilities of England. And to carry it on they were ready to raise as much Money, as the Kingdom is able to pay. They would also have provided for the deficient Funds, as far forth as the Condition of the Nation could possibly have allow'd of.

Wh. But were they willing to Five Millions a Year? For our Side at the time declar'd, they would come up to that, or more, if it were ask'd.

Do. No, I did not hear they talk'd of so large a Sum; on the contrary, I am inform'd they propos'd to put the War upon such a Foot, that we might be able to hold out till France could be reduc'd to such Terms as should be safe for us, and the rest of Europe.

Wh. How much did they think of giving?

Do. I could not learn the particular Sum, but I found they were resolv'd to give whatever should be absolutely necessary, and that the whole should be rais'd within the Year.

Wh. Why not Five Millions, and why all to be rais'd within the Year?

Do. The Reasons they gave, were these: That our Foreign Trade is already charg'd with such high Duties, that it cannot possibly bear any further Impositions.

Wh. But could they pretend that a general Excise would not raise whatever should be wanting?

Do. That was mention'd by some of our Side; But they told us, we talk'd of what we did not understand; that almost every Branch of our Consumption, which could raise any considerable Sum, was Excis'd already, except Malt, Flesh and Corn; that Leather, which People thought would produce a great deal, had been try'd, and yielded little. They likewise urg'd, That if every Commodity of the Kingdom were Excis'd, as they are in France and Holland, yet the Collecting and Managing the Duties, would not be understood in many Years, so that the People must groan under heavy Taxes, which notwithstanding, would yield but a very small Revenue to the Publick.

Wh.

Wh. Nay, 'tis an undeniable Truth, that where the Collection of a Duty is not understood, the chief Profit of it runs into the Hands of the Retailers, and the King's Officers, and the Publick reaps little Advantage by it.

Do. And 'tis what the Country Party objected to a general Excise. And I percieve their Scheme was to have rais'd the whole within the Year, without entring upon Ways and Means so dangerous to Liberty; especially at a Time when when our Party had given such visible and frequent Occasions to suspect that we design'd to set up for Arbitrary Power.

Wh. But why were they not for five Millions? Are the united Monarchies of *France* and *Spain*, to be Conquer'd under a less Sum?

Do. To this they had a plain and ready Answer, That they intended to proceed so, as not to be out of Breath before they had run a quarter of the Race: That they resolv'd not to follow our bad Conduct: That at the Rate of much less than five Millions a Year, *England* might have carry'd on the late War for twenty Years together, without considerable Damage to it self: That with any good Management, the Ministers had not been compell'd to such a Treaty, as was that of *Ryswick*, where the Protestant Interest was so little consulted, and which we Modern Whigs were afterwards compell'd to declare, not sufficient to preserve the Safety of *Europe*. They said likewise, That notwithstanding our Debts, and tho' the Kingdom is so exhausted of its Treasure, yet we should be still in a Condition to raise such a Sum of Money every Year; That if it were well manag'd and laid out; *England* would be able to support the Emperor, distress *Spain-Portugal* and the *Spanish West-Indies*, and to give the Prospect of carrying on so long a War, as would make the *French King* weary of the Business, and glad to give his Imperial Majesty; and all other his Confederates, intire Satisfaction.

Wh. But what Objection could they make to enlarging the War, by giving towards it five Millions? This had been something to the Purpose, and would make such an Impression, as in two Years, for ought we know, would quite overturn both the *French* and *Spanish* Monarchies. And can the other Side deny, supposing the last Parliament had been suffer'd to Sit, but they might have rais'd five Millions a Year; for Two, and perhaps three Years together, if they would have been willing to go into our Measures, and to plunge the Nation into Irish Incumbrances, as we did from Time

to Time. Is it not obvious that nothing is more easie than to run into Debt. I grant 'its difficult to get clear again; but does not all modern Policy run upon the present, without any regard to the future? You say Malt, Flesh and Corn remain unengag'd. There are besides, Leather, Soap and Candles. In two Years, four Shillings in the Pound upon Land, would raise near Four Millions; and if they had been willing to have Mortgag'd for five Years those Branches of our Home Consumption, perhaps upon so good Funds, they might have rais'd the other Six Millions; thus they would have had two Years Provision for the War, and in that time, I make no doubt, but we may over-run *France* and *Spain*.

Do. To this they answer'd, That the War could not be put upon so high a Foot, without extream hazard to the Nation. For suppose *France* and *Spain* should act defensively, and that you cannot be able to make such a strong Impression upon them, as you propose to your selves; or suppose they should contend with equal Success, then what will you do at the End of the two Years, when you have Pawn'd all *England*, except the Land? And when every Thing shall become so much dearer in the Market, will Gentlemen be willing to give out of their Estates ten Shillings in the Pound, for it must come to that, when there is no other way left to raise Mony? Perhaps they may be brought to it for our Year, but they will soon grow weary of such a Burthen, of all which, the Consequence must be, that at the end of three Years, if you begin the War upon a higher Foot than you are able to carry it on at, you will be compell'd in a short time to make a destructive and ignominious Peace; whereas we can hardly be unsuccessful, if it be manag'd at an Expence which we are able to bear for any long Tract of Time. Upon the whole Matter, I found it to be the general Sense of the Country Party, not to come up to five Millions *per Ann.* and what they gave to be rais'd within the Year. But I must tell you by the way, they intended to take care that none of the Mony should be imbezell'd, and that it should be laid out with the utmost Frugality imaginable.

Wh. Well then this was their Scheme for the War, but could you discover what they propos'd to do in other Matters? Would they have let us and our Friends alone? Were they willing we should have gone off with the high Titles, vast Estates, and great Preferments we had gotten?

Do. Even in this Point it seem'd to me apparent that they intended to go as far as was possibly consistent with the very Being of the Constitution.

Wh. Do you think they did not design to begin where they left off?

Do. No, the contrary is manifest; and I am confident that rather than they would have given any Interruption to the Business of an immediate War, they would have postpon'd most of the Inquiries and Accusations, till they had secur'd the Kingdom from Foreign Dangers; which would so have antiquated the whole Proceeding, as it could hardly have been taken up again. This prudent Course had been a present Saving to their own Priviledges, and look'd like gratifying our Side, who they saw were ready to stir up a Civil War in the Nation, rather than that the Persons accus'd would be brought to Justice; to avoid which the Country-Party were contented to sacrifice their Resentments arising from infinite Provocations.

Wh. But had they no Reserve? Would they not have pick'd out here and there a Man to have made an Example of that future Ministers might have been afraid of treading in the same Steps?

Do. I am credibly inform'd they purpos'd to meddle with no Body, that would have been contented to go off with Impunity, and who would have withdrawn from publick Business, without showing a Spirit of out-braving the Justice of the Kingdom.

Wh. This would have contented me had I been in their Cases.

Do. We were all determin'd to play another Game, and the Dissolution was a Bisk in our Sleeves which you dreamt not of.

Wh. But if that should not have the Success you expect, yet I hope they Intend to proceed in the same Steps of Moderation towards us; if they do, our Heads and Leaders will still 'scape Punishment, so that prehaps the Broils they have lately stirr'd up may do 'em good, and not hurt 'em.

Do. That I won't answer for: And to deal plainly with you, I doubt we have no hope left but in our Numbers. For last Summer in a Coffee House, I overheard a leading Man of the other Party, Talk to a Friend of ours to this purpose, and it has stuck by me ever since; 'our Friend had been saying to him, That all these Inquires were but the Effects of Faction, and that it were better to forget what was past, in order to reconcile Animosities for the future. The other Gentleman reply'd, *If to forget past Transgressions will conduce to this, if to believe themselves and their Friends safe, will bring*

Men

Men more willingly to shake Hands with those whom their Conduct has but too justly offended; if not only so, but that Things are carry'd with such Moderation, as not to put any Side out of Hopes by fresh Merits towards the Publick, not only to have its Forgiveness but its Favours; if this would so Work, as to make Names and Marks of Distinction to be no more remember'd among us; if this Lenity would so operate, as to make us unite in the Cause of our own Liberties, and for the Preservation of all Europe, the good Effects this would produce at Home, may turn to better Account upon the whole, than by looking into former Offences, to give those Examples of Publick Justice, which are peradventure expected. Therefore I am not against postponing these Inquiries.

Wh. Was our Friend to whom this was spoken an Old, or a Modern Whig?

Do. He was an Old Whig, and relish'd mightily what the other said, who proceeded thus: But if there is a sort of unquiet Spirits, who not contented with Impunity, will still be grasping at Power; who bear implacable Minds to the very Persons they have injur'd; who instead of paying that Submission to the Publick that does not misbecome even the clearest Innocence, presume to outdare the Justice of their Country; who will not give over provoking those who incline to sacrifice their own private Resentments to the Nation's Peace; who will not be satisfy'd unless they are allow'd to govern that State which shows unpresidented Mercy to let them go off unmolested; who still foment Divisions, and keep up Parties, in prospect by their Aid to be re-instated in their former Greatness: If such Men there are, let it not be call'd Faction in those who unite together in Rescue of the Laws: If some will combine in Mischiefs, others must join in as firm a Band to give 'em Opposition: And if there are those who think to outbrave Justice, her Sword ought to be drawn upon them.

Wh. What did your Old Whig say to this?

Do. He told the Gentleman he was in the right, and our Noble Friends ought to know when they were well; that if they would hazard their Heads, 'twas their own Fault; that for his part, he would forsake 'em if ever they pretended to appear any more upon the Stage of Business.

Wh. Upon the whole Matter, I find by you that this Country Party, at which we have rais'd so much, did resolve to engage in a War, and (except giving up the very Constitution) to do every thing towards reconciling the Differences and Animosities of the Nation.

Do. There is not the least Doubt to be made of it: And our Anger to 'em was not because we thought they would not, but because we knew for certain that they would do all this, and whatever else should be profitable to the King and Kingdom. 'Twas this Opinion made us tremble; and think of Measures to procure a Dissolution.

Wh. But had you any plain Proof that this would be their Scheme the following Sessions, or did you only guess at it from the Discourses of the Town?

Do. No, no; we had something more than common Talk for our Surmises; we saw the Church-Party much more in earnest than our selves, to promote those Addresses which were occasion'd by the *French King's* pretending to intermeddle in the Disposal of our Crown. We could not find any one of 'em stick out; but, on the contrary, they all concurr'd heartily in expressing their Zeal and Affection to his Majesty's Person and Government. This did them good, and us hurt with the People, and make the Falshood of all our Stories manifest: For in these Addresses, those Gentlemen did publickly list themselves against that Interest which we had represented them to be then promoting, And after they had made such Steps, they had been mad indeed to oppose a War if the King thought it necessary.

Wh. Some of us were strangely surpriz'd to see them so ready to concur in whatever had the appearance in Respect and Duty to the King; our Heads and Leaders had made us believe the contrary, and gave this for a Reason why we should promote Addresses.

Do. But we had other Proofs that they were both for a War and for healing Breaches. All the most considerable Men of the Party declar'd it to be their Sense.

Wh. It seems then you got a knowledge of their whole Scheme.

Do. They made no Secret of it, in which I think they acted imprudently; for on my Conscience, If they had taken a contrary Course; If they had dissembled their good Intentions to the Publick; If they had made, as tho' they intended to oppose a War, and revive Differences between the two Houses, our Party had never desir'd a Dissolution.

Wh. No; for your Business was to expose 'em to the People; and to put 'em as much in the wrong as possibly you could.

Do. I must tell you we were frighted out of our Wits to observe this Moderation of theirs; and to find that no Madness of ours, nor Provocations from our side, could 'em

alter

alter the Measures they had propos'd to themselves; and that in spite of our Teeth they would do what in them lay to save the Kingdom, whose Liberties were invaded by us at Home, and which was in danger from Abroad by the exorbitant Power of *France*: We found they recover'd their Popularity apace, of which we had endeavour'd by our Misrepresentations to bereave them: We saw their frugal Conduct; their Care of the Nation's Mony; their avoiding all Taxes that were not of absolute Necessity, would rivet 'em for ever in the Affections of the People. It was likewise Evident, if the King should once taste the difference between being serv'd by Men of Principles and of Honour, instead of having the Business of the State done by a Crew of Upstarts, with false Hearts, and rapacious Hands, he would soon grow to think those his best Friends whom we have represented as his only Enemies. Upon the whole Matter, we gave our Party for lost and gone if a Parliament should be suffer'd to sit again, which we knew was so well dispos'd to the Service of their Prince, and yet at the same time not unmindful of their Country's Interest.

Wh. You had nothing left but to cry out for a Dissolution.

Do. Our Endeavours at Home, in order to it, were to no Purpose. We try'd to foist Words into several Addresses, as if the Country desir'd it; but so few join'd with us in an Attempt of that Nature, so intirely new in our Constitution, that we were forced to give it over. Indeed, many of our Side, especially the Old Whigs, cry'd out upon it as a dangerous Innovation; and that if a disbanded Ministry could prevail upon the People to address against one Parliament, for ought they knew a Ministry in Power might work upon 'em to address against Parliaments in General, and so bring in Arbitrary Power.

Wh. 'Twas shrewdly urg'd.

Do. Seeing what a cold Scent we had at Home, 'twas resolv'd among us, as our last Expedient, to try what we could do Abroad. You may remember at our last Meeting upon the *Exchange*, I told you we had Emissaries posted in all the great Towns of *Holland*.

Wh. You did so; who were to spread about there, that the Parliament was selling *England* to *France* by Inch of Candle.

Do. It seems our Noble Friends were not well satisfied with the Conduct of those whom they had employ'd upon that Business: They were willing, but not able to do the Mischief they were sent about. I was therefore requested to take upon me the Trouble of going thither.

Wh.

Wh. Their Honours could not have pitch'd upon a fitter Man than *Double* for an Ambassador to represent their Persons.

Do. I went with a good Retinue, and a very rich Equipage: I order'd my People to give out, That I was a Gentleman of the North of Five thousand pound a Year; That I had great Interest in my Country; That I was a Member of Parliament; and, that I had the Command of Five or Six Burroughs. The Port I liv'd in soon brought me into the best Company.

Wh. What did you make the Pretence of your being there, was it to see the Country?

Do. No, I told 'em I was sent thither by the sound Party of *England*, to implore the Assistance of their Commonwealth; That our Nation was now more over-run with *Tories*, than *Ireland* was in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*; That we wanted their Help to root 'em out; That Count *Tallard* had play'd at Picquet with a Majority of the House of Commons; That they had won of Seven thousand Pistols a Man; That they had actually sold *Holland* to the King of *France*, and had agreed to sell him *England* the very next Sessions, if they were suffer'd to sit; That the whole Church-Party were against making good the Treaty of the 3d of *March*, 1677. by which *England* is bound to assist *Holland* with such a Proportion of Troops in case of a Breach with *France*; That they would not have made a Step in their Favour last Year, but that the *Kentish* Petitioners compell'd to it; That they were resolv'd to a Man not to enter into a New War; and, That every Night at the *Vine-Tavern*, the whole Club of 'em drank Confusion to the Emperor, Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, and the *German* Forces in *Italy*.

Wh. But did they swallow these abominable Lyes?

Do. They went down among some of 'em as glib as their own Butter. In short, I declar'd publicly where-ever I was, That nothing could save 'em but a Dissolution. 'Tis true, I often met with Persons of great Worth and Understanding, who said, They had no Reason to complain of the *English* Parliament; That all their Memorials had been immediately comply'd with; That they could not but approve of the Gravity and Caution of those Councils last Year; That a wise Commonwealth, such as theirs is, was not to take their Measures from a hot-headed Party, that were inrag'd because they had not been suffer'd to rob the Publick at their Will and Pleasure.

Wh.

Wh. What did you reply to this?

Do. I seem'd amazed to hear 'em talk so. Sure, said I, none of you ever receive any Letters out of *England*, Except just a Party in the House, corrupted with *French* Gold, there is not a single Man in the whole Realm that does not call out for a Dissolution. But there was one of the States, that seem'd to be of considerable Weight and Authority among 'm, who answer'd me thus. Sir, I have Correspondents in *England*, and with those to my Knowledge have been for these twenty Years what you call Whigs, without ever changing their Principles, and who are great Lovers of our Republick. They have quite different Notions from you, and write me word, That all Things go very well, and those whom you are pleas'd to name Tories, think themselves almost as much concern'd to protect *Holland* as to preserve their own Country. Indeed some Merchants, and my Brokers, and those who have Commissions to buy up for my Accompt, Tallies, Bank and *East-India* Stocks, are all in your Note, and rail at the Parliament; but I under *England* well enough to know which way they are bias'd; they long to fish in troubled Waters, and to see Money at thirty *per Cent*. but for my part, I am fully satisfy'd with the Gentlemen of the House of Commons. A Dissolution will put the Affairs of *Europe* very much back: A Sessions late in the Year, for ought know I may ruin the whole Summers Campaign. Besides, what Assurances have you that new Provocations will not beget fresh Animosities? The last Parliament was upon a right Bottom, they were for enquiring into and correcting Male-administration; nor do I believe you can be able to find a Set of Men that will fit contented and see the Nation plunder'd.

Wh. Your *Dutch-man* talk'd very knowingly of our Affairs.

Do. When I heard him say so, I told him I was impower'd by some of the greatest Persons in *England* to assure him and his Country-men, That in case of a Dissolution, not one Member of those who were for the Impeachments, should be again Elected. I show'd him a long Scrowl of above two hundred Persons (you will find most of their Names in the *Black List*) every one of which should infallibly be thrown out. And that there should not be a Man chosen that was not intirely in the Interest of the Court, as the *Leyden-Gazette* terms it.

Wh. How did that work?

Do. He received what I said very coldly, and said, He hop'd

hop'd their State, upon the bare Words of such as I was, would not rashly engage in a Matter that might be of so fatal Consequence to their Common-wealth, for that the Gentry of *England* could not but deeply resent their intermeddling in the Calling or Dissolving our Parliaments. Upon which I told him, he talk'n like a *Jacobite*, a *French* Pen-siner, and one of the *Lovestein* Faction.

Wh. How did he take that?

Do. He receiv'd it with a scornful Smile, and made no Reply; but I wish I had held my Tongue; for his Son, who is an Officer in the Army, met my Worship next Morning, and rebuked me very sourly; and I, whose Shoulders have been accustomed to Wood of all kinds, dare boldly pronounce it was with a Cudgel of our own English Oak.

Wh. These Accidents happen often to you, Mr. Double, but you fortify your Self with your Philosophy against Disasters of the like nature.

Do. I do so; but tho' I had no better Success with this rough Blade, yet I and those who were sent from hence upon the same Errand, prevail'd upon a great many others of the leading Men in *Holland*. We promised 'em Mountains: That if the Parliament could be dissolv'd, *England* should make it self Principal in the War; That tho' we might begin with fewer Troops at first, yet that in two or three Years they should have an Army of 87000 Men, all paid by us; That the Modern Whigs would so order Matters, that a New War should as much enrich their Country, as the last did: In fine, That if they would but help us at this dead Lift, our Noble Friends should for ever be at their Devotion; That we would sacrifice to their Interest our Trade, our Safety, our Ships, Men, and Mony; and that our whole Party should be directed, without any Reserve, by their Councils.

Wh. I suppose they who had been sent into *Holland* before, when they came to concert Measures with you, grew better instructed in the Parts they were to act.

Do. As to Railing against the last Parliament, and at the Ministers at that time in Power; and as to crying up the Strength, Interest and Numbers of our own Party, I myself could not have done it better; but they wanted the nice Skill of giving every thing its right Turn, which only I could do who have been bred at the Feet of our two *Gamaliels*.

Wh.

Wh. I wonder, tho', how you could pass your self upon 'em for a Parliament-Man, seeing there was then in *Holland* a goodly plump Gentlemen of our Acquaintance, a Reverend Magistrate of this City, and who was himself a Member of the last Parliament; how came he not to discover you?

Do. Faith, I was within Arms-Ace of being found out; for one Night at a Mum-house, where I was eating a Butter-ham and Pickled Herrings, with some of the States, and where I was giving my self Ayres of Greatness and Interest in my Country, swearing I myself would take care that my County, and three Counties round about me, should choose none but hearty Whigs. Pray Sir, says our Alderman, who means well, but is apt to blunder, what Burrough do you serve for, I don't remember your Face in the House of Commons? But I seem'd not to hear what he said, and turn'd the Discourse, by drinking in a Rummer that held above a Quart, Confusion to all those in the two last Parliaments who were against a standing Army.

Wh. Pray, what Help had you from Mr. *Gospelscorn*? I hear he was employ'd to represent abroad, what was the Sense of all the Libertines, Socinians, and Atheists in the Kingdom, as to the high Point in agitation.

Do. When I saw him, he had not yet been in the Court of *Hannover* to present his Book, and receive his Gold Medals; and he was as tatter'd as an Heretick that had lain seven Years in the Inquisition in *Gos*; but I presently made a Gathering to uew-rig him. I wonder his great City Patron did not take care to send him out in a better Equipage. When he had got new Cloaths, I introduced him into good Company: Tho' I know him to be more than half mad, and an ignorant Coxcomb. I told every Body, that he was such another in *England*; as their *Spinosa* the *Jew* was in *Holland*; That 'twas true, he had no Religion, but was a very deep Politician; That the Great Men of our Party did nothing in Affairs of State without his Advice; that he was forming a Scheme to abolish Kingly Government, and to establish a Common-Wealth in *England*; That 'twas true, there were not above Five or Six Men the Nation, that agreed with him in all his Principles; but that in some of his Tenets he had a great many Followers, especially among the Modern Whigs, tho' the Old Ones had cast him off; and that as contemptible a Figure as he seem'd to make, he was not to be neglected, as being the Apostle of the Libertines, Socinians and Atheists, who every day grow more and more considerable.

Wh. Mr. *Gospelscorn*, for the edness of his Birth, may be Anti-christ, for he was begotten by an Irish Priest, when he was full of Usquebaugh, upon a Cook-Maid of the Kirk of *Scotland*; and methinks the Names of *Liberty* and *Property* don't sound well in his Irish Brogue. As to Lying and Railing, I doubt not, but he play'd his part, as well as the best of you all.

Do. Indeed we all pe form'd to a Miracle; there were Forty of us dispers'd in the Seven Provinces and we all agreed to cry up one another for rich Merchants, or great Statesmen; Men of Interest

in our Country, and to be the only good Patriots of the Nation. So that in a little time, we wrought a wonderful Change in the People's Minds of *Holland*, and made both High and Low believe as bad as we could wish of the last House of Commons. I need not explain my self any further, you know well enough what followed, and as soon as we had got certain Intelligence what would be done, we dispatch'd Mr. *Gospelscorn*, as our Express, to carry the News of it to our Friends in *England*; but he acted a little too openly in laying such odds at the *Grecian Coffee-House*, that there would be a Dissolution, but we forgive any Trip our Friends make, if they get Money by it. When he came over, I gave notice by Letters, to all the principal Men of our Party, that they should get into the Country, as fast as ever they could, and prepare to make their Interest, for that Infallibly there would be a new Parliament; and a Week after, I came over my self.

Wb. But you did not stay above a Night in *London*.

Do. No, I went immediately into the North, where a Friend of mine had been the whole Summer, Treating a Corporation, in order to make a Member. I had empower'd him to spend Five or Six Hundred Pounds, and moreover to promise ten Pound a Man, to every Elector, in case I were Chosen, which would have been Twelve Hundred Pound more, for there are Sixscore who have Voices in the Town: I went into the North with a much better Equipage, than when I sneak'd into *Cornwall* with my Calash and four Hackny Horses, the World is well mended with me since that Time; I had now my Coach and Six, and half a dozen Servants in Livery, very well Mounted. I took likewise to bear me Company, Mr. *Wriggle* and Mr. *Fleeceum*, one of which had been a Groom, and the other a Bayliff's Follower before the Revolution; but by Fingering the Publick Mony, they are now both become almost as Rich as my self. When I arrived, I was received with Huzzas and ringing of Bells, and other Marks of the People's Joy to see me, only the Parson of the Parish did not at first come near me.

Wb. How came he to stand out?

Do. I sent for him that Evening: He came, and told me plainly that for his part he would not give his Vote but for some Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood; that if none stood, he would not meddle at all in the Election, and that he could not approve of Strangers coming from *London*, to supplant the landed Gentry in their own Burroughs. I took this for an ill Omen, because I had been inform'd, that the good Life and Hospitality of my Divine, had made him very Popular in the Place where I was to stand; however, for the Five or Six first Days, I sail'd with a prosperous Gale, not apprehending the least Obstruction; but at last I was certainly told, that one Mr. *Oldworth*, a Gentleman of a great Estate in the Neighbourhood, had been prevail'd upon, much against his own Inclination, to accept of standing for the Burrough; however the Crack of the Field still went for me, for not valuing the Act of Parliament of a Rush, I had treated the whole Time, and kept

kept the People Drunk all the while; but on *Sunday* the Parson would not let 'em drink, and they had that Day to cool in: On *Monday* Morning early, the Doctor invited all the Voters to a sober Breakfast at his House, and told 'em that he would read to 'em a Book, which he had just received from *London*. I had some jealousy that the Black Coat had no good Meaning towards me, and would fain have dissuaded 'em from going, but there was no resisting the Breakfast, and good Ale, with which they were so well acquainted; so that in spite of my Teeth, thither they would go, and soon after I follow'd to see what was in Agitation

Wh. These true old Church Men are none of our Friends.

Do. I found him late at the upper end of his Hall, with his Congregation standing in a Circle about him, and a long Table well cover'd with cold Meat; he had a little Pamphlet in his Hand, and as soon as he had desir'd Silence, he began to Read, *The True Picture of a Modern Whig, set forth in a Dialogue between Mr. Whiglove and Mr. Double, two Under-Spur-Leathers to the late Ministry*. Being in *Holland*, I had never heard that our last Conversation upon the *Exchange* was in Print. You know I am not easily put out of Countenance, but I must confess, I was somewhat dash'd to see my self so painted out in my own proper Colours; Mr. *Wriggle* would have interrupted the Parson, but you know 'tis an old Rule, That in any Assembly, nothing can get the better of News, and they all Swore they would have the Book read out, so that I was compelled to be a gentle Auditor, and to hear all my former Rogueries repeated before my Face. When he had done Reading, Mr. *Fleeceum* would have bore him down, that I was not the *Tom Double* there meant; but just as we were wrangling upon that Subject, in came Mr. *Oldworth*, with Four or five Gentlemen more of the Country, who all knew me, as well as I am known at *Garraway's*; at the Sight of these we were forced to be silent, and apprehending some Mischiefe, we retreated to our Inn.

Wh. And from thence I suppose you got away, as you had done before in *Cornwall*, having the fear of a Blanket before your Eyes.

Do. Troth I had some thoughts of doing so, but I consider'd, that then was then, and now is now; what you speak of was ten Years ago, and I presently made this Reflection with myself, That we had been debauching the People so long to little purpose, if one of my Character might not offer himself a Candidate in a little Burrough, notwithstanding that his Rogueries were made publick to all the World, so glad I took Heart and resolv'd to stand it out.

Wh. 'Twas an Heroick Resolution.

Do. About Noon, some of my Managers brought me an Account of all that had pass'd at the Doctors; they told me that their Town, like most Places of *England*, was divided into Parties, that the reading this Book had intirely lost me all the Churchmen, and all the old franch Whigs, who declar'd they would never have such a Fellow for their Representative, and at the same time near Threescore declared for Mr. *Oldworth*, signing a Paper

to choose him. I seem'd a little dejected at this News, but one of 'em came to me, and said, *Sir, bear up, I'll warrant you we'll carry the Election for you.* He had no sooner said this, but these rush'd into my Room about Forty or Fifty of the Electors, their Spokesman was an *Anabaptist*, who accosted me in this manner: *Friend, we have been with the Parson, and have heard the Book read, and all of us take it for granted, that you are the very Tom Double therein mention'd; but we hope for all this, tho' you may have been somewhat Faulty in your Actions towards the World, yet that you are a Godly Man, and of our Party; and I am bid to say, That all our Congregation, and all the Modern Whigs, will be for you: if you have got Money by cheating the Publick, you are the abler to do us good; the more Crimes you are charged with, the closer you will stick to our Noble Friends now under Tribulation. The Wealth you have gotten is a Mark of your Wisdom; be but for us, and 'tis no matter what you your self are. This is not a time of Day to consider of the Virtues or Vices of Men, all we are to look into at present, is, how they stand affected to the Cause. If we can have assurance, that in due Season you will join with us in pulling down the Church and Monarchy, by the Grace of God you shall be our Representative.*

Wh. Ananias spoke comfortable Words.

Do. At this I rous'd my self, and made 'em a very handsome Speech: I told 'em I hop'd all the Actions of my Life had made it manifest, that I did not care for Kingly Government, any farther than as I could make my advantage under a negligent and corrupt Ministry. That the Virtues of the King were such, as to make it impossible to shake the Throne during his Life; but that hereafter, when the Times would admit of it, for my part I should readily concur with our Sovereign Lords the People in any Establishment their Wisdoms should think most convenient for the Nation. As to the Church, I said that for several Reasons it was not proper, in this juncture, to Talk of rooting out Episcopacy, but that when we had drawn what Uses we could from that Order, our Party thought it would be then time enough to lay 'em quite aside; but that if I had the Honour to be chosen, I would immediately do my utmost to take off the Sacramental Test, by which the Brethren would forthwith be let into what they most aim'd at, that is to say, all the Employments of Power and Profit in the Kingdom; and that my Friends who stuck to me should share in all the Gains I could make by the Trust they were going to repose in me.

Wh. No Grecian Orator could have spoke more to the purpose.

Do. After this I dismiss'd this Assembly; and order'd Mr. *Wriggle* to give the Whisper about, that instead of Ten, first promis'd, all my Votes should have Twenty Pound a Man, which I thought would keep 'em all tight to me, and so we went and visited over again the good Women of the Town, where I drop'd my Guineas to all that would receive 'em, and among them I found I had a better Interest than with their Husbands.

Wh. But it seems all would not do.

Do.

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Do. No, the Election was to be next Morning, and the damn'd Parson was indefatigable: He told 'em, That such open Bribery must certainly end in disfranchising their Corporation; and that to choose such a Scoundrel would be an eternal Blot upon 'em; however I saw my self strong enough to venture a Poll, and that if I fail'd I should lose it but by very few.

Wh. I take it for granted your Friends ply'd the People all Night with Ale and Brandy.

Dr. That they did, and they all came bravely hot-headed next Morning to the Town-house. There was no dispute as to one of the Gentlemen, so the Contest lay between me and Mr. Oldworth. I had greas'd the Mayor's Fist in the Morning with Fifty Guineas, and to do him Right, he us'd all the foul Play imaginable on my behalf; he rejected good Votes from the other Side, and admitted Paupers to Poll for me; he did Braw-beat every one that came against me, countenancing all the Riots that were committed by my drunken Crew; but do what we could, when the Books were clos'd, and the Poll cast up; tho' we wrangled four hours at the Scrutiny, and play'd twenty Tricks, Mr. Oldworth had Sixty-one, and I but Fifty-nine Votes.

Wh. So you lost it by Two.

Do. By no more, I would fain have perswaded the Mayor to have made a false Return, and offered to deposit Bank-bills in his Hand, to keep him harmless: But 'twas a rich Rogue, very timorous, and he would not venture upon it.

Wh. 'Twas very unlucky, to come so near, and yet be disappointed.

Do. 'Twas so; but a wise Man draws something wherewith to Comfort himself out of all Misfortunes that happen to him: And truly, tho' I miss'd my Election, 'twas to me an infinite Consolation to behold how the People were corrupted. I was known to be a Pick-pocket, a Gamester, a Fellow of no sort of Principles: My Electors knew I had been concern'd with the Clippers, when I was a Receiver of the Taxes; that I was grown Rich, out of the Publick Ruins; that my design of coming into the House was only to have an opportunity of selling my Country; all which was made apparent to them; and yet I, an utter Stranger, came within two Votes of throwing out a Gentleman of an unblemish'd Reputation, a great Estate, and whose Ancestors have maintain'd an honourable Port in the Country, for upwards of Four hundred Years Does not this give us a most lovely Prospect? Does not this show, that we have made a Breach upon then Honesty of the middle Rank of Men: and that the Infection begun higher, has spread it self into all the smaller Veins of the Body-Politick? I own, it is to me an unspeakable Comfort, to observe such a general Decay of Manners and Vertue in the Vulgar sort; it forebodes that Disorder in Publick Affairs, which must make room for such as I am. 'Tis impossible to grow very rich in a Vertuous Country; and you see our Party has increas'd in Wealth, in proportion to our having Corrupted the People in their Morals.

Wb. I have made the same Observation.

Do. If we are suffered to proceed, I doubt not but in a few Years to see the Multitude so corrupted, that we who have robb'd the Publick, shall have Statues erected to our Honours. There were brave Fellows once in the *Roman* Senate; *Pallas* the Freedman and Favourite of *Claudius* had a Decree of the Senate to praise him for imitating the Poverty of the ancient *Romans*; tho' 'twas notoriously known, at the same time, that the Varlet was worth above Two Millions of our Money. If we can but have as good Success in Debauching the Freeholders, as we have had in Corrupting small Burroughs, the Game is our own: And we are not only Safe, as to our past Crimes, but we may go on hereafter with impunity.

Wb. As soon as the Election was over, I suppose you came away.

Do. No, I stay'd four or five Days distributing Mony, and preparing an Interest against another time; so that tho' I miss'd it, I am little less out of Pocket than if I had succeeded.

Wb. Your disappointment was a Blow to the Party, the News of it put a general Damp upon us; Stocks fell that Night 2 *per Cent.* at *Jonathan's*.

Do. My Friends set too high a Value upon me; but that's past now, and tho' I could not get into *St. Stephen's* Chapel, I hope to do the Party no less Service in the Court of Requests, where you see I ply from the first Sitting to the Rising of the House: Take my Word more is done without Doors than you think of. Lie-Master-General in the Court of Requests is a Post of great Importance: Many a Question has been carry'd by a piece of false News invented there, and from thence convey'd to another Place. Upon such Emergencies I will be ready at hand with Stories of all sorts and sizes concerning Plots, Invasions, Fleets Battles, Victories, and deaths of Princes, as in their Turns they may serve the present purpose.

Wb. Indeed there lies a great deal upon you.

Do. I am besides to look after the flying Squadron, and to keep all the Waverers steady to our Interest. I am likewise to watch that none of our Pensioners or green Silk Pursemen neglect being upon Duty: I am to sound who may probably be tempted by Bribes, Titles, or Employments: I am to give Reasons, good or bad, for all the unreasonable Things we design to promote: But my chief Business will be to run between *Westminster* and the City, when any great Matters are depending.

Wb. What to tells News at *Garraway's*?

Do. No, but to frighten our Party when Things do not go as we wish they should: As for Instance, when we lose a Question I shall run immediately to the *Exchange* and cry all is lost, we are sold to *France*, Land is not worth twelve years Purchase; for my part I intend to sell all I have in the Government, Tallies, Stocks and Exchequer Bills, every thing shall go: And all this I'll do, tho' the Debate should only happen to be about expelling Sir *H. F* ————

Wb. What do you propose by giving these Alarums?

Do.

Do. O, a great deal; for thereby the Strength of our Side is shown: We, you know, are Masters of most of the ready Money, having indeed robb'd the whole People of it; and when Things go not to our Minds, we give the Word, out, That every Body should sell; which immediately sinks the Value of Stocks, Tallies, and all publick Funds: And tho' this comes meerly by our own Contrivance, we will impute it to a Discontent in the Nation to see our Party discountenanc'd at Court or in St. Stephen's Chapel. This very Trick we play'd last Year with wonderful Success when the New Ministers were brought into Business, and 'tis what we intend to repeat as often as there shall be occasion.

Wh. And when Things go to your Fancy, you fall as fast a buying, which raises the Market, so you Stock-Job the Nation.

Do. Our Noble Friends trust me with their ready Cash, and I have always a great Sum of theirs in my Hands, with which I can raise or sell the Stocks as they think it most to the advantage of their Affairs. Do you know that on the 30th of *December* last, a remarkable Day, presently after Four a Clock, I went and sold Twenty thousand Pound, in Bank and New *East-India* Stock, and you cannot imagin what a Rumble this made in the City, for none of the publick Funds have since held up their Heads?

Wh. But I suppose you intend to Buy it again.

Do. No, it lies all in Gunieas, in an Iron-Chest at home, and the yellow Boys shall shortly have some more Companions; for I mean to part with all my Tallies now, while they are at Par; for the sneaking Rogues carry but Seven or Eight *per Cent.* Interest. And my Design is, to lie upon the Catch with a good Cash, for Thirty and Forty *per Cent.* discount; which I doubt not of making, so soon as our Friends shall be let into the whole Administration of Affairs.

Wh. When that happy Day comes, I intend immediately to sell all my Land; my Debt paid, it will yield me near Eight Thousand Pounds in ready Money.

Do. You cannot do better; I shall think my time very ill spent, if before the War is ended, I do not treble my Fifty Thousand Pound; and you may do the same, with what you have, if you'll follow my directions.

Wh. You shall be the North Star by which I will steer my Course; but I wish you would be pleased to communicate to me what our Party designs to do this Winter, and what Scheme they have form'd to themselves; for I doubt not but they have let you into their whole Secret.

Do. I could easily tell you what they propos'd to do before the 30th of *December* last; if things had gone well that day, there were noble Projects upon the Anvil; Root and Branch had then been the Word, but now I doubt, we must begin a Note lower; however, none of think of us laying aside either our Fury or our Malice; only we must act more covertly, now we find we are not so strong as we thought we should have been. 'Tis plain, our Lies and Libels have not influenced the Elections to such a degree as we expected; therefore we have been forc'd very lately to make some alterations in our Measures.

Wh.

Wh. It does not seem, by the Pamphlets lately publish'd, that you propose so much as beginning with any sort of Moderation. *Legion* is come out again, more Impudent and Inflaming than he was last Year; and the Authority of the House of Commons is there attack'd in a most audacious manner; which looks, as if you design'd to throw off your Masks, and fall immediately to subverting the Constitution in good earnest.

Do. No, that Work must be postpon'd a little, till we have got firmer Footing. You are to understand, that this, and some other Libels of the same Stamp, were Calculated to the Hopes our Party had conceiv'd, that Men might have been found, who would have been willing and ready to betray their Country, and give up all its Privileges, but you see we are disappointed, we must therefore pretend at first as if we meant nothing but to secure the Kingdom against *France*, and as if we had conceived no Anger against those who have laid our Cheats and Robberies open to the World; but you may safely rely upon the Cruelty of our Natures, our Side was never known to forgive, that the weakness of those Fools we have so long contended with; and depend upon it when ever we are confirm'd in Power, and assured of our Numbers, not a Man of 'em shall be forgotten or forgiven. Two Months ago, I would not have been satisfy'd with less than Five or six Bills of Attainder, and as many Impeachments, but, as I told you, the Case is a little altered, and wnce we are not strong enough to crush our Enemies, we must seem to be for Moderations.

Wh. Pursuant to what you say (without Doors) they talk very much of a general Indemnity for what's past, in order to quiet the Minds of the People.

Do. I believe our Party would like it well enough, for it would clearly wipe out all our former Crimes and Offences; The Truth on't is, never Man wanted a Pardon more than we do, it secures us in all the Thefts and Rapines we have committed upon the Publick, and we should all rejoice to be playing the Rogue upon a New Score; but how does this relish with the other Side?

Wh. Truly, they say, that all Good Subjects ought humbly and greatfully to receive the Marks of their Prince's Goodness, but they hope to have behav'd themselves so as not to stand in need of such an Act of Grace. They say they have been wounded in the Dark, by a Crew of Villains, who have accus'd 'em of being brib'd by *France*. They pray that this Matter may be brought to a publick Examination, and till this Right be done 'em, they think it will hurt their Reputations, and look like Guilt in them to desire that such a Bill should pass. They further alledge, That when we are just entring into a new War, it would appear very strange to pardon those who have been accused in so many Libels of selling the Nation to the *French* King, and that an Indemnity cannot be seasonable, which renders Criminals Rich and Safe, and leaves the Innocent highly Oppress'd and Injured.

Do. I am sorry they see so far into the first Port of our Scheme, if we could get 'em to acquiescé in this Oblivion, the Moment it

in

passes; we will out-face all Mankind that we had Receipts for French Mony, ready to produce under the Hands of all the Gentlemen that are down in the ~~Black~~ List, but that out of Compassion we were willing they should be Pardon'd.

Wh. And considering what Eyes have pass'd for current, I doubt not but this would be swallow'd among the rest.

Wh. The Honour the Church Party must needs gain by desiring, in this Juncture, to rely upon nothing but their own Innocence, will do them a great deal of Good, and us Hurt; therefore, I hope, they will take other Measures.

Wh. But how it is like to be in the main Point? What Sum of Mony do you propose to Ask? Will there such Taxes be rais'd, as a Man of Industry may thrive by? Shall we see such a Golden Age as there was during the last War?

Do. Our Party (without Doors) are mightily divided upon this Head. The Old Whigs, by what I can perceive, are not for Five Millions; but for my Part, I had rather have no War at all, than to think of going lower; less, well manag'd, I know will do the Business, and perhaps the Nation is not able pay near that Sum for any long Tract of Time; but what the Devil is to be got out of less than five Millions? In a slender Revenue there will be no room left to Cheat the Publick, and how many of our present Friends do you think will stick to us when they see there is but little to be gain'd? Look you, Mr. *Whiglove*, Things will never go well unless the War feeds those who are to feed the War: All we Modern Whigs are for Five Millions, for, as a certain Author says, *Five Millions to be granted every Year, is a brave and ample Field for our Ambition and Avarice to range in.* Out of such a Sum a Parcel of us may Yearly get Twenty or Thirty thousand Pound a Man, without being discern'd, 'twill be no more miss'd, than if you should take Five or six Grains from a Heap of Barly. Is any one so mad to imagin we shall be for pulling down the King of *France*, and our selves not to be the better for it? Take my Word, that foolish Virtue of serving our Country for nothing, is now quite out of Fashion.

Wh. I am afraid you will fall short of your Reckoning, 'twill be hard to get so much as you talk of.

Do. Don't think we intend to ask such a Sum at first, we shall begin with 'em gently. In 1689. we made the State of the War for the Army and Navy amount to but Three Millions two hundred ninety odd thousand Pounds. In 1690. we brought it to about Four Millions. In 1691. it swell'd to near Four Millions two hundred thousand Pound. Indeed in 1692. 'twas reduc'd to the foot of Three Millions six hundred thousand Pound; but then in 1693. it return'd again to upwards of Four Millions. In 1694. it came to Five Millions. In 1695. there were granted Four Millions and almost nine hundred thousand Pound. In 1696. it came to upwards of Five Millions. And in 1697. it came to Four Millions eight hundred and eighty thousand Pound. And during some of

these Years we ask'd a great deal more than was granted, which became an Arrear, and is part of the Debt now lying upon us, and pay it the Nation must some time or other.

Wh. Well, if you do not ride too fast at first you may come to the end of your Journey, and peradventure in a Year or two get the Five Millions you aim at; but they come hardly.

Do. Easily enough if the Method our Party proposes (without doors) be follow'd, which is, to pawn one Branch after another till they have mortgag'd the whole Kingdom. They who take this Course, neither feel nor see what they are a doing till they are lost past Redemption. Besides, this way of supplying the Government is like Opium, when you have taken it for some time you cannot leave it off; and when the State is thus perplex'd and involv'd in Debts, the Administration must of necessity be continued in our Hands, for no Body else will venture to middle with it.

Wh. If you can get the War put upon so high a Foot, is your Scheme then compleat?

Do. No, we have other Points of great Importance to work thorough: We cannot be sufficiently reveng'd of our Enemies, unless we unravel all the good Things they have been doing for so many Years. I am directed to whisper about in the Court of Requests, That the Act for Regulating Tryals of Treason is such a Restraint upon the Prerogative, that Loyal Subjects ought not to endure it. I am bid to say, That the Sacramental Test weakens the Government; and, that to preserve Peace among good Christians, most of my L---ds the B---ps are now willing to give it up, tho' their Predecessors were so foolish as to think it was the main Bulwark of the Church. I am likewise order'd by our Noble Friends to insinuate, That the Act for Triennial Parliaments puts the Country to a great deal of Expence and Trouble, and that 'twere better Things should be as they were formerly, when the Prince had power to keep one and the same Parliament sitting, as long as he pleas'd: That while there was a House of Commons that had sat Six Years together, few were so impertinent to inquire into the Proceedings of the Ministers; or if they did, they were sure to be baffled: That a firm Interest, such as will go through thick and thin, cannot be form'd under a long Tract of Time.

Wh. Have you in Charge to promote any other Matter?

Do. My chief Work is behind: I am commanded to possess all I discourse with, that there is an absolute Necessity to establish a Standing Army in *England*, to keep under that numerous and powerful Faction of the Non-Jurors, tho' all of 'em put together are not able to raise a single Regiment. I am bid to ridicule our Naval Strength in all Companies, and to say, That five hundred Men of War are not able to Protect us: That the Militia signifies little; and that nothing can preserve our Religion and our Liberties, but a great Army here at home.

Wh. The Old Whigs will not stick to you in this Point.

Do. I believe so too; however their present Fears will mak 'em join with us to raise a great Force: Indeed when the War is over perhaps they may be Disbanding, as they were last time; but I hope our Party will take such Care to model the Army, that when 'tis once rais'd, your good Patriots, as they call themselves, shall never be able to get rid of it.

Wh. How can that be done?

Do. A good Purgation does the Work: Do but Cashier all the gallant Gentlemen and Officers now employ'd, who are known to love their Country, and its Constitution, and give their Commands to Foreigners and meer Soldiers of Fortune; and then you shall have an Army which not only will refuse to be Disbanded, but which will raise Money upon the People to pay themselves, if there should be occasion.

Wh. There never was such an Instance of Virtue and Reverence to the Laws as was shown by the Soldiers at the end of the last War; Eighty old thousand Men suffer'd themselves to be disarm'd and laid aside by Three hundred Gentlemen in St. Stephen's Chapel, rather than subvert the Fundamental Constitution of their Country.

Do. Therefore we must take Care for the future not to employ Men of the same Principles: Now adays there are enow to be found of quite another Character, whom our Party can bring to do whatever we direct 'em: But to say the Truth, we can rely on none so much as upon some of the Foreigners; tho' I know several of them too who are tainted, and will not join in promoting our bad Designs; but they shall troop off among the rest, if we can get the Army modell'd to our Wishes.

Wh. You will never be able to compass that.

Do. Prithee what can't we bring about by Lyes and Slanders? If we could misrepresent a whole House of Commons, cannot we misrepresent the Army? Why may not we say, That part of the nine hundred thousand Pistols, which we give out have been lately remitted hither from France, was employ'd to debauch the Soldiers from their Duty? Such a Story well and impudently urg'd, may make it as advisable to Purge the Troops, as it was to Dissolve the Parliament.

Wh. Nay, I am satisfy'd a Standing Army will do you no good unless 'tis modell'd as you would have it, you must therefore endeavour to gain that Point: But since a Standing Army goes so much against the Grain, and since 'tis what the Old Whigs will not come up to, why will you push at it?

Do. Considering what we have done, and what we intend to do hereafter, how can we possibly be safe without an extraordinary Force to protect us? Our general Scheme is to bring our Party into Business, that we may once more have an opportunity to rob the Kingdom; and is it not direct Nonsense to think of setting up for a corrupt Administration, unless we can obtain such a Power as may

awe those who believe they have a Right to inquire into our Proceedings?

Wh. I find we have miscarry'd in one great Design, the Train would not take, we were very hot upon it just before the Parliament met, all the Whig Coffee-houses rung how necessary 'twas to break into the Acts of Settlement, and to exclude——

Do. Mum, *Whiglove*, talk no more upon that Subject I beseech you, fresh Orders are issued out, and since we are not strong enough to make it go, and that on the contrary it has alarm'd and provok'd all sorts of Men, we are now directed to say, That never any such thing was intended by our Party, tho', God knows, it was the whole Discourse of all our Clubs. Under the Rose, this was one of those Embrio's that prov'd Abortive upon the 30th of December last; but tho' it be not seasonable to stir it in now, never fear our abandoning a wicked Design, we never quite lay aside any Mischief; however, since it has really open'd the Eyes of a great many, and weaken'd our Interest among several of our own side, whom (with grief of Mind I speak it) we cannot work up to be guilty of so much Injustice, let us take all occasions of declaring, That we will not violate these Acts upon any account whatsoever; which we may the more safely do, because you know 'tis our Principle, not to think that we are bound by any Protestations we make, either in Private or in Publick; and 'tis one of the great Advantages we have over the rest of our fellow Subjects, that we can Fetter the Consciences of others, while our own are at perfect Liberty.

Wh. By the way, pray tell me, Are we to Rejoyce, or be Sorry, at what happen'd last Night at Westminster?

Do. O, you mean about Rejecting the Clause that was propos'd to be added to the Oath of *Abjuration*; can you repeat the Words?

Wh. Yea, I Transcrib'd 'em from the Paper at the Coffee-house, and they run thus? — *And I will to the utmost of my Power, support, maintain, and defend, the Regal Government of this Realm; and the Constitution of Parliament in King, Lords and Commons; and the Church of England as by Law Establish'd with Liberty of Conscience as it is now by Law tolerated.*

Do. I don't yet know the Sense of our great Ones on this Subject; we shall hear to Night what our noble Friends will say upon it at Supper: I am told that (without doors) they look upon the throwing out of this Clause as a notable Victory, but I wish it may not rather be a Defeat; but, to give you my single Opinion off hand, I think nothing could have been offer'd more Advantageous for the Dissenters than this Clause; for it puts them upon a Level with the Church of England in our future Establishment.

Wh. I find some of our Friends mightily down in the Mouth, upon the Miscarriage of Fuller's Business, even Dr. Oats says, *be is a Lying Rascal*. 'Tis urg'd, that it must bring a great Reflection upon our Party, to have Countenanc'd such a Profligate and Perjur'd Villain; it has been hit in my Teeth forty times in the Court of Requests; The other side crys, *Has all your Noise of French Mo-*

my no better Foundation than *Fuller's Evidence*? Where is this Mr. Jones, the Man of Quality and great Estate, who has distributed more than One hundred and fourscore thousand Pounds, by the French King's Order? In short, I could wish we had never brought this Matter upon the Stage, 'twill be a Clog upon other Lies, which we may have occasion to disperse hereafter.

Do. What you say would hold, if we had any Shame in us; but if this Iniquity should be never so much detected, if it should be made apparent who were at the bottom of this Contrivance, it should not make us blush; for things are come to that pass in *England*, that there is no Rogury whatsoever which has not its Patrons and Maintainers.

Wh. But, seriously, don't you think 'twould be better for us to give this Fellow up to be Punish'd, and not to struggle as we do in his Justification?

Do. You must take this for a general Rule, that it cannot be advisable for us to abandon any one Rogue of ours, let him be never so Notorious; 'tis breaking a Link of the great Chain: And if this *Fuller* should be soundly Whipp'd, as he deserves, 'twill not be possible for Love or Money to procure false Witnesses, of which we may stand in need some other time.

Wh. 'Tis then your Opinion, I should take his part in all Companies, and as I walk in the Court of Requests.

Do. Why not! When you see some of the very best of us do it, You must give out, That all he has Publish'd is as true as the Gospel, only that he is over-born by the *Jacobites* and *French Pensioners*.

Wh. But what shall I say, when he is not able to produce his *Thomas Jones* and the rest who are to corroborate his Testimony?

Do. You must Swear, upon your own knowledge, that there were really such Men, but that you believe they have been Spirited away by the *Tories*. Besides, I am not quite out of hopes, but that he may hatch a *Jones* and *Inglefield*, if he be suffer'd for any time to sit and brood over his Evidence. He has three Kingdoms to turn himself in, and 'tis hard if he cannot find out two Rogues who may serve his present Turn. Had I leisure to make a Trip over into *Ireland*, I could bring him Forty. Look you, Friend *Whiglove*, we must all strain a little to bring him off; for 'tis of more importance than is commonly imagin'd.

Wh. Indeed his Books have done a great deal of Service among the Rabble.

Do. The Novelty of 'em, and their superlative Air of Impudence, has induc'd all Mankind to read 'em; and they have made a deep Impression upon the Vulgar, who seldom come to know the Truth of Things: They think all true, which they find in Print. Tho' there is not a Man of a clearer Character, than the Earl of *Nottingham*, both as to his Publick and Private Actions; yet, among the Mob, *Fuller's* Lies and Libels will have some effect. Indeed 'twill be a full Answer to all he has written, if, as he himself has propos'd, he should be Whipp'd worse than Oats.

Wh.

Wh. Are you to say any thing about Restraining the Press? Some of our Old Whigs are mightily against it, and say, 'Tis a *Badge of Slavery, and tending to nothing but to serve the Ends of Popery and Arbitrary Power.*

Do. There are very few Points, in which I agree with your Old Whigs; can they be so simple, as to desire that the Press may be Free, at a time when we hope all the Power will be in the hands of our Party? 'Tis true, we have got Ground for the present, by our Libels, but we cannot long avoid being detected; and if the other side is free to Print against us, by that time we have been in the Administration for a year or two, we shall be so laid open, that a Modern Whig will be ashamed to shew his Face. If we intended that our Actions should be honest, I grant we might suffer Men to Publish what they please; but, alas, our Management never did, nor ever can bear the Light. Do you think, 'tis fit the People would be told every Year in Print, of how much we Cheat the Publick? That were a fine Business indeed! A corrupt Ministry must endeavour to work in the Dark, as much as possible: For my part, I believe it were better for our Interest, not only to Restrain the Press, but that there was no such thing as Printing in the Kingdom; for all Right Reason, and Good Sense, absolutely make against us.

Wh. But having all along supported our selves by Lyes, which are our Foundation, and chief Strength, how can we disperse our Poison among the People, unless the Press be open?

Do. That Work may, in some degree, be done by Word of Mouth, by your Agents and Emissaries. But besides, supposing the Press should be Restrained; will it not be easie for us, who have the Power of our side, so to order matters, that no notice may be taken of the Libels we Print; and that every thing may be suppress'd, which the other side Publish in their own Defence? So that we shall be free to offend and wound a Party that have their Hands tyed behind 'em; which is as much odds, I think, as we can wish for.

Wh. I will insinuate this to our Old Whigs, but am afraid 'twill not relish with 'em.

Do. 'Tis no great matter; for I doubt, this will not be the only Occasion we shall have of Breaking with those sort of Men. We are forc'd to flatter 'em at present, but I foresee, we shall be shortly compell'd to stand at open Defiance with 'em.

Wh. God forbid

Do. 'Twill be impossible to avoid it. A subdivided Party, as ours is, that have different Ends and Designs, cannot hold long together. The Old Whigs mean Honestly to their Country, and are in good Earnest, as to a War with *France*, and against Popery; whereas we, Modern Whigs, have no aim, but to do our own Business. As to a War, we promote it not out of regard to the Nation's Honour, or its Safety; but we drive it on, because it must produce high Taxes; of which we hope to have Fingering,
And

And as to Popery, can it be imagin'd, that we, who openly deride all Reveal'd Religion, are in any pain which shall be uppermost? The Old Whigs have Principles, we have none; their Estates are descended to 'em, with which they are contented; there is no end of our Avarice and Ambition: It suits best with their Interest to preserve the Constitution; we are not safe, unless we can destroy it. How therefore is it practicable, for the Old and Modern Whigs to continue for any time well United, when they stand upon such different Bottoms?

Wb. 'Twill be Fatal, if they should separate from us; we have lately been upheld by nothing but their Reputation; we could never have appear'd in the Country, but that we were Countenanc'd and Headed by here and there a Whig, who had never been upon the Stage of Business, and who was without Spot or Blemish in his Character: And 'tis their being with us, that must atone for what we have done, and shall hereafter do amiss; we must lurk behind them; they must bear the Name of doing what we secretly contrive; we must seem to be quite out of Play, and to have no hand in the Management of Affairs; and 'tis their Innocence that must protect our Guilt.

Do. All this I know.

Wb. How then will it fare with us, if we are forsaken by the only Persons of our Party, who have any sort of Credit with the People?

Do. We must endeavour to Corrupt 'em by degrees, and to lead 'em from one false Step into another, till they are become as Criminal and as Odious as our selves. You may remember how many Grave Whigs we Debauch'd soon after the Revolution. A Court can work Miracles. Were there better Flatterers than some of the Old Republicans, whom you and I have seen, not long ago, in great Employments? Have you forgot the Gentleman, who in *Whitcomb's* Gallery, looking upon *Harry* the Eighth's Picture, commended that Gallant Prince (as he call'd him) because he had with his Dagger drawn, cry'd in the House of Commons, *Hah! show me the Member who dares speak against passing my Money-Bill.* We doubt not of making many more such Converts; and if we can plunge them in our Vices, 'twill not be hard to bring 'em entirely into our Measures.

Wb. 'Tis what you must endeavour to do.

Do. We intended it. I have known a great many deluded by Pleasures and Luxury to betray their Country, who were not to be wrought upon by any other Motives. Therefore you see one of our Noble Friends, who is still at the Head of our Designs, sets himself in good Earnest to corrupt the Manners of all our Youth, in order to subvert the Constitution: And tho' in truth he is no better than a *Massiniello*, he affects to imitate the Conduct of *Cataline*, as he is forming the same Conspiracy. He is the Patron of Licence and Disorder; his House is the School of Intemperance: What Lust in any of his Followers does he not study to please?

please? Women, Musical-Entertainments, Riots, and Delicacies of all kinds, are ready at hand for such as will be drawn to his party by those sort of Allurements.

Wh. But suppose these Baits should not prevail upon the Whigs who have mix'd with you in your Councils, suppose they should not join in your two main Points, which are raising Exorbitant Taxes, and keeping up a Standing Army, what will you be able to do? They broke from you not long ago when they saw whether you were driving, and when you were forsaken by the Squadron your Condition was but very desperate.

Do. I am satisfy'd that such as have been seduced by our Party will soon find us out, that we shall daily lose Ground in Jacobite Chapel, and that our Party can never be safe while Parliaments are suffer'd to preserve their ancient Authority. You see therefore we make it our business to undermine it in all we can, especially to render the House of Commons contemptible has been the principal Aim of all the Pamphlets we have lately published, but we swim against the Stream: Do what we can the People will return to the Love of their old Constitution, while they are permitted to have it in their View. If a House of Commons would connive at corrupt Administration, and suffer their Privileges to be trod under Foot, I should like 'em well enough, but if they will take upon 'em, as they have hitherto done, to save the Kingdom's Money, and to correct Abuses, they will find a Necessity upon us Modern Whigs of trying what we can do to subvert without 'em.

Wh. You will find that difficult.

Do. Not at all: If we have a War, a greater Army must be rais'd.

Wh. You say true.

Do. That Army may be form'd, purg'd, and model'd, to our Wishes.

Wh. This I grant.

Do. To maintain the War new Funds must be settled, and probably for a long Term of Years.

Wh. Well, what then?

Do. You know part of the Excise and Customs, and several other Duties appropriated to the Payment of the Nation's Debt, yield every Year a very great Sum; and if a House of Commons will not permit us to plunder the Kingdom with impunity, as we have hitherto done, our Party must resolve to set up for themselves, which may be easily done by boldly advising to shut the ———— Hark! I hear Coaches stop, I must run down and receive their Honours at the bottom of the Stairs.

F I N I S.

